

FOCUS
MIDWEST / 75

CIVIL RIGHTS REVISITED

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- Organizations flop in Kansas City election / Page 10
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ABORTION: Should Constitution be amended? / Page 24

OUT OF FOCUS

(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency praised the methods of an Atomic Energy Commission study on the chances of a serious nuclear reactor accident, but concluded that deaths and injuries resulting from such an accident could be 10 times higher than suggested by the AEC study.

Illinois and Missouri cosponsors in the U.S. House of Constitutional Amendments banning abortions (which appears to be at a standstill in both houses of Congress) are Edward J. Derwinski (R.), John N. Erlenhorn (R.), Henry J. Hyde (R.), George M. O'Brien (R.) in Illinois; and Richard H. Ichord (D.) in Missouri.

The outstanding candidate for a seat on the St. Louis Board of Aldermen was Bruce Sommer of the 6th Ward. Nevertheless, his opponent received the sole primary endorsement from St. Louis Mayor John Poelker. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch reported that downtown business interests were especially concerned about Sommer's candidacy. Sommer is the former president of the Metropolitan New Democratic Coalition. He won in the primary and the general election.

Missouri ranks near the bottom nationally in the amount of money spent per capita for air and water clean-up. It is second from the bottom (only North Dakota, which has no large cities and little population, is lower) in air pollution spending and seventh from the bottom in spending on water pollution.

From "Alert" Newsletter

Many people are aware of credit bureaus, which gather information about individuals for the benefit of creditors. But few realize that a similar organization exists to gather and store medical information. The Medical Information Bureau (M.I.B.) is supported by 700 insurance companies and operates an information exchange on their behalf. With the passage of the Fair Credit Reporting Act and other consumer-oriented legislation, the bureau's files can be pried open at least a crack. Anyone who believes there are errors in their files and who wants to seek corrections can get information by writing to the Bureau. Its address is P.O. Box 105, Essex Station, Boston, Mass. 02112.

The U.S., which ranked 7th among nations in infant mortality in 1950, is still slipping. It now ranks 17th, having recently fallen behind Hong Kong and East Germany. Some countries are not yet included in the figures compiled by the United Nations, among them China. American physicians who visited China last year reported that in Shanghai the infant mortality rate is less than half that of New York non-whites, and almost a third lower than that of whites. The doctors said the main reason for the low rate of infant deaths in Shanghai is intensive pre-natal care available there. Every country which ranks ahead of the U.S. already has either a national health insurance program or a national health service.

—From Health Security News

In view of the continued concern about "busing" of school children, it is noteworthy that during the last school year some 8,150 school buses carried 628,286 Missouri school children approximately 80 million route miles, according to data compiled by the Missouri State Department of Elementary and Secondary Education.

Saudi Arabia will not support International Women's Year. The country's U.N. delegate Jamil Brody claims that American men are "slaves" to American women, and said that "my government will not contribute a cent to the IWY conference." Women cannot vote in Saudi Arabia.

from Sister

In 1974, Missouri citizens overwhelmingly passed a campaign finance reform law via the referendum route. In righteous indignation the Missouri legislature has now set out to punish voters for this effrontery by attempting to revise such petition procedures. One proposal would require citizens to obtain a cost estimate from the House Fiscal Affairs Committee on an initiative proposal. All the different proposals would make the petition drives more costly and more cumbersome.

Routine Morning Business in U.S. Congress, March 4, 1975: Byrd (D W.Va.) motion to table, and thus kill, the Allen (D Ala.) amendment to insert in the U.S. Congressional Journal of March 3 the "Prayer of Saint Francis of Assisi." Motion to table agreed to 64-25.

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THE RIGHT WING / Supplement to the Roster of the Right Wing



Letters

THANKS OLD FRIEND

FM: Eight years ago I left St. Louis. This week I came back for a few days to visit. Amid the destruction of old St. Louis and the rape of the surrounding rolling green hills, one happy discovery was a prospering-relatively FOCUS/Midwest I am indeed impressed.

Thank you for your help and for F/M.
Roger Montgomery
College of Environmental Design
University of California, Berkeley

IT'S ALL CLEAR NOW

FM: You stated that hunters that were owners or absentee landowners of 40 acres or more can get a permit to hunt anywhere in the county. A tenant farmer living on 40 acres or more can obtain a permit to hunt on that farm only, provided that the owner does not obtain one.

A reader who was not knowledgeable would not know that the above pertains to permits to hunt deer. Permit quotas are set for each county in Illinois open to deer hunting with guns in order to prevent the deer populations from being over shot. When the quota is reached, no more deer

permits are issued except to landowners or tenants. A standard permit costs \$5.00. A hunting license is needed to hunt game in Illinois by everyone except a landowner or tenant living on rural land. That person and his family living on the farm do not have to have a license to hunt on the farm where they reside.

Regulations pertaining to deer permits may be changed before the next hunting season to allow a tenant and members of his immediate family to obtain a free permit to hunt deer on property where he resides. An absentee landowner may purchase a permit to hunt deer on land that he owns but does not live on.

I hope this clears up the issue.

Anthony T. Dean
Director
Department of Conservation
State of Illinois

focusing on social economic issues of the 70s...

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human resources...

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Civil rights revisited

Times are tough.

That, the daily economic and energy pronouncements of the Ford Administration and the daily disagreements by the Democrats notwithstanding, says it all.

For most Americans, times are tough. About as tough as they've been since the Great Depression when they got so tough that in many ways the national psyche has never fully recovered. And like in the Great Depression, times are a lot tougher for some Americans than for others. Many at the bottom of the ladder are already losing their feeble footholds on the rung. The poor, the old, the racial minorities, who are now, as then, the last hired, first fired understudies in the American dream.

But there is a difference. In the 30s those blacks and the few members of other racial minorities at the bottom of the economic ladder had made it even that far only through luck, heroic personal determination or some malfunctioning of the system. Nobody much thought that they had any particular claim on the place, never mind any particular possibility of climbing higher. And nobody much noticed or cared when they got pushed off. There were quite enough whites pushed off with them to fill needed newspaper pictures of soup lines.

There may be this time too, but there is a difference. For the last great economic upheaval was righted in a great war whose massive troop movements and production needs required making space on the ladder for masses of blacks (and poor rural whites) who had never before even made the bottom rung. Then came a prosperity the world had never known before and with it a more mobile, more educated, more open society. And with that, demands from the once invisible minorities for a guaranteed place on the ladder and an opening to the higher rungs.

In a long and exceedingly patient struggle, America's new freedmen made their demands heard, awakened a new social consciousness in the white majority, and were promised their equal place. The same promise was then sought by other minorities - Chicanos and Indians and Appalachians - whom no one had even much noticed among us before. Demands escalated. There was backlash. There was rioting. And then there was a great non-war being fought.

Youth turned the new protest techniques to other targets - the Ivory tower and the ROTC. And there was, "Hell, no, we won't go," and bombings. And hippies. And then women. The new president who was to end the war and "bring us together again," renewed and escalated the bombing and split us more bitterly apart than we had ever been. And when finally Vietnam ended for us, the long, dark night of Watergate had already begun. When that was over we were exhausted. And when we looked around we found the economy was, too. And somewhere along the way the promise of equality had been forgotten.

Oh, it was partly accidental, but accidental like Vietnam. Things had got awfully noisy and middle America wanted law and order. There was crime in the streets and a scapegoat was needed. Daniel Moynihan suggested "benign neglect." The tapes on how the suggestion was received at the White House might make fascinating listening. Without them we

In This Issue

In revisiting civil rights, Focus/Midwest takes another look at the continuing division between the cities and the suburbs - the cities, black and poor, the suburbs, white and affluent.

First, on page 11, are the recommendations of the United States Commission on Civil Rights on "Equal Opportunity in Suburbia." The recommendations, made late last year, have yet to prompt federal action.

Following, on page 14, are some thoughts from black St. Louisans whose testimony before the commission five years ago helped make up its report and recommendations.

On page 16 is a detailed look at what the city-suburb job shifts and segregated housing pinpointed in the commission hearings have meant to minority workers in the Chicago area.

On page 20 is an overview of the disproportionate effect of the nation's economic problems on black consumers.

And on page 24 the issue of abortion and the lobbying for a convention to amend the U.S. Constitution has also implications for the status of civil rights.

can only judge the late Nixon Administration by looking at what it did.

The neglect suggestion apparently was well received, even if its practice was not always kept at a benign level. The Nixon Administration impounded funds for poverty programs and labeled public aid recipients as cheaters and civil rights leaders as agitators. And most devastatingly, the White House turned its back on the moral leadership given white America's slow but increasingly sure efforts to eradicate racism by the five preceding occupants. "We shall overcome," said Martin Luther King. Finally, "We shall overcome," echoed Lyndon Baines Johnson. Then both were dead and the civil rights movement, if not dead, had become nearly invisible.

And now, 20 years after Rosa Parks refused to move to the back of a bus in Montgomery, Ala., the country has far more pressing problems - the economy and energy - on its mind than the racial oppression Rosa Parks defied. And we have not overcome. We have not overcome either the personal racism in our hearts that made us sneer at or simply ignore Rosa Parks or the institutional racism which decreed she could sit at the back of the bus or walk.

And times are tough. The bus is more crowded now. And gasoline prices are still going up. It's tough on everyone. And the system is still such that Rosa Parks is going to be the first pushed to the back or forced to walk. Times are tough and hungry people are not noted for sharing, crowded people are not noted for pushing over.

But a nation committed to justice cannot wait until its short-range economic problems are solved to get on with the task of solving its long-range distribution problems. It is not the 1930s; black America is no longer invisible; black Americans no longer accept the bottom rung on the ladder as their inevitable place. As more and more get pushed off, more and more may remember Rosa Parks and say, "No." Even more may conclude that Rosa Parks' stand and the great nonviolent movement it precipitated were

EDITORIALS

in vain; that violence is the only language white America understands.

That was the language spoken in the long, hot summer of 1967. And white America listened closely enough to ask why. A national presidential commission answered, "White racism," and warned, "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white — separate and unequal."

White America examined its conscience, admitted some racism, threw in some money, made some bigger promises, continued moving toward two societies, and gradually forgot the problem whenever it could. We shouldn't need another presidential commission to tell us that the hope of the 1968 report won't last forever:

"This deepening racial division is not inevitable. The movement apart can be reversed. Choice is still possible."

Is it still? And if we wouldn't make it in good times will we in tough ones?

Two-thirds majority "tyrannical"

A democracy of property holders? It would seem that the United States gave up that idea some time ago in favor of the only true democracy, a democracy of free men, and finally women. But to hear some Missourians argue in favor of retention of the two-thirds majority vote requirement on public bond issues, one might never know of the historical development.

It may be possible to make a good case for retention of the requirement, but few of its supporters have. On the contrary, their principal argument has been that property owners — whose real estate taxes retire bond issues — deserve a weighted say on the issuance of bonds for local improvements. Hogwash! The contention flies in the face of democratic principles. We might as well give those with large incomes who pay more income taxes a greater voice in all public expenditures.

This is a democracy of free men and women, regardless of their incomes or claims to property, and all local governmental operations should be patterned first on that ideal. We have done away with property, racial and sexual bars to the ballot box — and their disguised seconds such as poll taxes and literacy tests — and no argument contrary to the one-man-one-vote ideal deserves a hearing in a committed democracy. And on the issue at hand, with St. Louis and Kansas City, both with large non-property owning black populations, being most stymied by the two-thirds requirement, it is as difficult as in the case of Southern poll taxes, to disguise the racism behind some weighted vote pleas.

The two-thirds majority requirement is archaic and undemocratic and unless it is abolished will continue to impede needed public modernization of Missouri municipalities. Kansas City Mayor Charles B. Wheeler, Jr. has properly labelled the requirement "tyrannical" and says it "has been holding Kansas City back for decades."

Wheeler is to be commended for assuming leadership of a drive to change the Missouri Constitution so that bonds can be issued by local taxing authorities on the approval of a simple majority of voters. St. Louis Mayor John Poelker has endorsed the

change. The statewide initiative petition drive Wheeler has launched to put the question on the ballot deserves the support of all who believe in the rule of the people.

United Freshmen hallmark of the 93rd

If the present 93rd Congress would have an imaginative, innovative, and dynamic leader as President, it could make as great strides as the 88th Congress under President Johnson, right after Sen. Goldwater was defeated.

But under a Ford, leadership must emerge from Congressional ranks particularly difficult at a time when presidential candidates are jockeying for public attention. Nevertheless, the 93rd Congress has a solid progressive majority buttressed by a united group of freshmen who, fortunately, refuse to accept the traditional quiescent roles assigned to the newly elected.

Two recent votes in the newly powerful House Democratic Caucus point toward liberal leanings among new southern members and striking unanimity within the freshman class as a whole, reports the *Congressional Quarterly*.

On March 12, when the caucus voted overwhelmingly against sending new military aid to South Vietnam or Cambodia, the southern freshmen lined up with their party's dovish majority — and against most of the veteran southern Democrats.

On the Indochina vote, 13 of 15 first-term southerners opposed further military aid. Some 32 of the 54 southerners who had completed a term or more voted in favor of the assistance, which the Ford administration had recommended.

Even more dramatic was the lack of support for the Indochina aid among all new members, regardless of region. Nationally, the freshmen voted 68-3 against it.

Similar changes appeared to be at work Feb. 25, when the caucus voted 152-99 in favor of a resolution designed to ensure that amendments dealing with the oil depletion allowance would be offered to a major tax cut bill on the House floor.

As on the Indochina resolution, the freshmen as a group were far more united on the depletion vote than more senior Democrats. Taking North and South together, the non-freshmen split 94-85 in favor of allowing the depletion amendments; the freshmen of both regions were 58-14 in favor.

As members have cautioned before, the unusual cohesiveness of the freshmen Democrats does not necessarily imply that they are voting deliberately as a bloc. The group no longer meets frequently to reach consensus, as it did in December and January, and although close personal associations remain, individuals are voting on their own.

The votes do, however, reflect the campaigns that most of the freshmen Democrats waged in 1974. Many of them campaigned against tax loopholes, high oil prices and the dominance of a few large firms over the energy field. Most also campaigned in favor of a shift in national attention away from Indochina and toward domestic economic concerns.

All of this has led to considerable speculation that the Democratic Party can use the decline in importance of the divisive Indochina issue to build a unity it has not displayed since the early New Deal years.

St. Louis loses Health & Welfare Council; throttled by United Fund

In a move that has attracted little publicity, the Health and Welfare Council of Metropolitan St. Louis seems certain to disappear through merger into the United Way of Greater St. Louis, known recently as the United Fund. Although combination of the boards of directors of the two groups is planned, it is the United Way that has funded the Health and Welfare Council for only six months this year in anticipation of the merger.

The demise of the Health and Welfare Council could have some significant effects on social service planning in the area; the Council is the United Way agency responsible for social welfare research and development. Still, it is hardly surprising that little public excitement has been generated. Leaders of the United Fund are a self-perpetuating group of key members of wealthy and powerful business groups, and those social service agencies which would be most influenced by the move are largely dependent on the United Way for their funding and continued existence. Since the Health and Welfare Council has basically played a planning and coordinating role for those agencies, its actions seldom touch the public directly.

As Health and Welfare Council proponents see it, a key issue in the prospective merger is the council's role as an advocate for social causes. The council came into conflict with the old United Fund in this capacity — in particular, by criticizing the fund when support was withdrawn from the Legal Aid Society of St. Louis, and by suggesting a slight liberalization of Missouri's abortion law before the Supreme court's landmark decision on the issue.

Such advocacy, which can stimulate community action on an ignored social need or protect the proponents of a momentarily unpopular cause, would be highly difficult for a planning group merged into a fund-raising organization — especially one dominated by wealthy business leaders. Officials of the old United Fund have admitted as much, when they have noted that their organization must be wary of taking any position that would jeopardize the ability of the fund to raise money.

The Council's advocacy role has become more important as its function in overall social planning has diminished. Changes in federal regulations led to the creation of the Alliance For Community Health, a separate agency responsible for health planning; growth of public welfare programs and regional planning have in part supplanted private efforts. Although some Council staff members say the Council could become an overall coordinator for public and private planning, social welfare professionals in some other agencies doubt that the Council has the means to establish itself in such a role.

Concern over the advocacy question, however, is expressed by outside professionals, many of whom are hopeful that the merger may strengthen the research and development services available from the council. "The Health and Welfare Council has been an advocate for a full range of services," says George Eberly of Consolidated Neighborhood Services. "Hopefully, the merger will provide for a dissident voice; lack of challenge to established outlooks

would weaken the fabric of social services in the community."

Health and Welfare Council officials directly involved in the merger negotiations express confidence that a statement on the advocacy issue will be forthcoming. The intent of the merger is to cut down "unnecessary friction" between the United Way and the Health and Welfare Council. "There is a real recognition (by both groups) that there are social problems we have not met in the community," said George Guernsey, president of the Health and Welfare Council board. "The most viable solution is consolidation." A press release issued by the United Way to announce the opening of merger talks reported, "The four (officials of both groups) agreed that neither the United Way nor the Council had reached its potential in terms of joint planning in the area of human services."

What made planning services inadequate, say professionals in agencies served, is the conflict between the United Way and Council. At the basis of that conflict, Guernsey points out, is a disagreement over what part of the Council's efforts should comprise planning for the United Way itself, and what part planning for the agencies that directly provide social services.

As the conflict has continued, the Council's allocation from the United Fund has declined, from \$332,000 in 1970 to \$250,000 in 1973. Among similar groups in major cities, its funding has been among the lowest, on a per capita basis, for the area; less than half of what some councils have received, Dan McDonald, the Council's director, pointed out.

The United Way's press release on the merger explained, "If the groups consolidate, the United Way will continue to conduct its annual fundraising drive and allocate funds to member agencies.... In addition, it will undertake an expanded planning role to assess the actual need for human service programs, seek solutions to human problems, assist in the development or expansion of existing services, promote preventive services, and foster greater cooperation between private voluntary agencies and governmental agencies within the community." The Council's functions, except advocacy of social issues and evaluation, would seem to be included in the United Way's plans.

But social service professionals from some outside agencies comment that they have not been consulted during consideration of the merger, a procedure that hardly suggests emphasis on improving planning services for them.

By now all the decisions have been reached and the process of consolidation is irreversible. In an age when even governmental institutions pride themselves on their open conduct of business, when community organizations seek to open new channels for the expression of views outside of the main stream, and when business has acknowledged that growth and creativity can only come from an enlightened form of self-criticism, the key St. Louis social welfare and fund-raising agency is conducting its business in secret, and has choked off dissenting voices both from without and now also from within its agency structure.

Who could have stopped the so-called merger? Apparently, the board agreed with the decision; the professionals could not act in isolation and might

(continued on page thirty-two)

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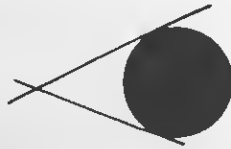
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OCCUPATION

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By TOM LAUE

ILLINOIS POLITICS

In the name of reform, Democrat leaders in the Illinois House have allowed the lawmaking process to break down into a frenzied farce.

Obsessed with the idea that meeting deadlines equals good government, House Speaker **William Redmond** and majority leader **Gerald Shea** are driving the rank-and-file members mercilessly.

First, there was the April 12 deadline for bill introductions, a date set jointly by the House and Senate to insure the spring session doesn't drag on indefinitely into the summer and beyond. It was a well-intentioned move but, true to form, most members waited until a few days before the cut-off to introduce their bills. This tardy approach caused some inconvenience in the 59-member Senate but an almost intolerable burden in the sprawling 177-member House.

First there was the problem of physically drafting the bills on time. Illinois has a sophisticated and professional agency called the Legislative Reference Bureau whose main job is to take a legislator's proposal and turn it into a bill consistent with existing law. Ordinarily, this is a routine procedure. But in the few days before April 12, the Legislative Reference Bureau was taxed to the limit trying to draw up literally thousands of bills that had to be filed with the House clerk by April 12 in order to be guaranteed a hearing this spring.

The Legislative Reference Bureau worked through weekends and pulled out other stops trying to meet its mammoth task but even so was unable to turn out every bill requested. Instead, many so-called "shells" — bills with numbers but no contents — were introduced. What's the harm? Some of these "shells" could pass committee and then be filled in when they get to the House floor, a technique that would allow sensitive issues to escape scrutiny in committee, the only crack the public really gets at proposed legislation.

The public and lobbyists had a hard time as it was trying to testify because Shea and Redmond decreed that every House bill would be heard in committee by May 2. This involved meeting from 8 a.m. to 10 p.m., six days a week, for two weeks running. Some key committees, like the House Revenue, Judiciary and Executive committees, had hundreds of bills to be heard in two weeks. The result was predictably ludicrous. One proposal to legalize the personal use and possession of

marijuana drew expert witnesses from Washington D.C. but they were rudely told by Judiciary chairman **Harold Katz** of Glencoe their total testimony in favor of the measure would be limited to 30 minutes. He graciously gave them 34 minutes. Another bill in the same committee proposed ending the death penalty altogether in Illinois. This, too, attracted expert witnesses who were made to wait until 10 p.m. to testify when the bill had originally been set for 2 p.m.

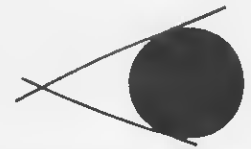
More often than not, bills were delayed, frustrating the legitimate attempts of interested public members to make their views known. The public was further hampered by frequent changes in the hearing rooms. For those familiar with the capitol complex, this was nothing but another in the never-ending series of discourteous inconveniences typical of the Illinois legislature. But for those new to the statehouse, a switch in the hearing room might mean they never got where they were going.

All these complaints might sound familiar to long-time legislative observers. The lawmaking process is never neat and tidy, they might say. But things are so chaotic in the Illinois House, even the members are gnashing their teeth. One Republican got into a shouting match with Rep. **Samuel Maragos**, a Chicago Democrat who chairs the House Revenue Committee. The GOP member was mad because Maragos was shoveling bills out of the committee with the recommendation they pass — even though they were not yet printed and committee members obviously never saw one word of the bills they were being asked to approve.

The Judiciary Committee run by Katz did only slightly better. Katz has long considered himself the legislature's foremost reformer. Reform, Katz believes, can be achieved through setting schedules and then sticking to them. Ironically, this is precisely what has thrown the House into chaos. So devoted is Katz to allowing every member the full use of all rules, he has unwittingly turned his own committee into a circus in which members throw paper airplanes, shout without recognition from the chair and otherwise openly defy Katz' authority. At one point, Katz' vice-chairman was so disgusted he threatened to quit.

All of this has prompted two highly unusual public statements urging the legislature to be certain it doesn't pass bad laws. The American Civil Liberties Union and the state Chamber of Commerce both chastised hectic House procedures, and said it can only lead to poor statutes. A lobbyist for the Municipal League, who normally moves easily within powerful circles, grumbled openly over a beer about overloaded committee schedules that make it impossible for him to be everywhere he should be.

Most individual lawmakers are quick to criticize this year's format. Republicans in particular enjoy laughing at the predicament of Redmond, the reform Speaker. They assume Redmond was so anxious to show he could rule fairly and firmly, he put the House on an impossible timetable. He is trying to show, say the GOP members, that Democrats can run the House smoothly and meet deadlines, something former Republican House Speaker **W. Robert Blair** ostensibly could not do in his four years on the rostrum. Redmond himself will only say he can not deviate from the tight schedule because the House and Senate voted for it.



By O. C. KARL

MISSOURI POLITICS

Senator **Stuart Symington's** announcement that he will not be a candidate for re-election in 1976 could be a blessing or a curse for the Democratic Party in Missouri. Symington has had a long and honorable career on the national scene and the prospects of an inter-party primary battle over his age held promise only for Republicans. He has done well to forego such a battle, although if his motive was actually to transfer the Senate seat to his son, Representative **James W. Symington**, the battle over political nepotism could be as damaging to the Democrats.

But with or without young Symington, a battle for the Democratic nomination is in the offing. If it gives Democrats a choice and they make a wise one, it will be a blessing for the party. If it is a political free-for-all with power the determinant, it may well lead to the party's losing a Senate seat.

The Democratic Party in Missouri should have learned a lesson from its loss of the Governor's office, but it is not at all clear that it has. The lesson is simple — the offering of the old-time politician with only party service to commend him to the voters is not enough to counter young, attractive Republican candidates. If this has not been learned, Attorney General **John C. Danforth** is certainly a man to give the Democrats a repeat lesson.

So far, the Democrat's leading candidate seems to be former Governor **Warren E. Hearnes**. And the principal issue seems to be that if Hearnes is not indicted for wrongdoing in his gubernatorial administration, he is qualified for the United States Senate. This is a strange qualification, even in post-Watergate times.

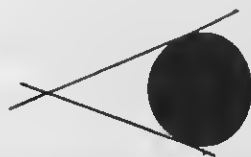
In an interview on television, Hearnes answered a question as to why he would

challenge the Democratic incumbent to the effect that in politics there is a time a man must move up or out and it was time for him to move up. He sounded like he was discussing a career in the insurance business rather than in public service — making no attempt even to assert that he could do anything better for Democrats or Missourians in general than Stuart Symington, who had not yet withdrawn from the race.

It was enough to make one think, that the country in general and perhaps the Missouri Democratic Party in particular need to re-evaluate the meaning of public service by elected representatives. The ideal is that citizens give up their ordinary pursuits to represent their fellow citizens in running a citizens' government. Although politics is certainly an honorable career, it may be time to reaffirm that it need not be a career.

Perhaps, nothing could be better for Missouri Democrats right now than to have a dark horse come forward from some other field — a candidate who would seek the office because he believes the United States Senate to be the most important deliberative body in the world not because he wishes to move up a step in his career. Failing that, we hope those candidates whose career is politics will talk more about why Missourians would be better served with them in the Senate and not about why their careers would be served by being elected.

Danforth will certainly make service an issue and if the Democrats have no one to give him a good argument, they will deserve to lose the Senate seat.



THE CITIES

NEW RULES ARE OLD RULES IN CHICAGO CITY COUNCIL

As the French are fond of saying, "The more things change, the more they stay the same." The City Council at its first meeting after Daley's April 1st landslide victory adopted rules of procedure to guide its course for the next four years.

The five Independent Aldermen proposed twelve rules changes which would have forced:

- The City Council to meet regularly;
- Legislation to be numbered so that it can be traced;
- Eulogies for the dead to be moved to the end of the meeting;
- The elimination of the Rules Committee as the Council burial ground for controversial legislation;

- Legislation which has been in committee for more than 90 days to be brought to the floor for a vote.

These dangerous rules changes, which would have brought more democracy and more citizen participation to the Council, were defeated by votes of about 423.

Under pressure to adopt some changes, the City Administration came up with two new proposals one progressive and one regressive, which is the kind of balance to bring smiles to Mayor Daley's countenance. No longer would all appointments be lumped together — now Aldermen can vote on School Board nominees separately instead of having to decide how to vote on a list which includes both racists and liberals. But debate was also silenced at yet another part of the Council meeting. Aldermen can no longer debate motions to discharge Council Committees which have failed to hold legislative hearings.

So what you had for City Council rules in 1971 is what you got in 1975. Even the simple changes which would improve the operation of the council were beaten back. Maybe Paddy Beuler was right. "Chicago ain't ready for reform." Or to paraphrase Royko's *Boss*, ready or not, it ain't getting any this year.

ORGANIZATIONS FLOP IN KANSAS CITY ELECTION

In this spring's Kansas City elections the voters rejected not only the old line political machines but the city reform organizations as well in what appeared to be a "plague on both your houses."

The Citizens Association, the aging but periodically rejuvenated nonpartisan reform group, could not even pull its mayoralty candidate Joseph Shaughnessy through the primary. The Citizens Association is the successor to the group of political reformers which threw out the Pendergast machine some thirty-five years ago. On the other hand, the old line political machines seem to demonstrate no more political might.

The First Ward Democratic Club, the oldest surviving political machine since the demise of the Pendergast goats and dominated by the Italian community, saw its candidate for councilman Sal Capra go down to defeat before a Mexican-American political novice despite his long tenure on the council. This also introduced a new element: the political awakening of the Mexican community.

Freedom Inc., the black political power structure, saw its female candidate at large for the city council Mamie Hughes go down to defeat before another black woman Joan Collins.

The Democratic, liberal, issue-oriented groups such as the Democratic Council and the New Democratic Coalition were completely invisible.

Some of the disarray may be explained by the recent deaths of the quiet but influential Alex Presta, leader of the First Ward Club, and the less quiet but also powerful William Royster, leader of the Democratic Good Government Association, and the Democratic Party in the northeast part of the city.

Also missed was the influential voice of William Morris, former Lieutenant Governor. Even more significant probably was the shadow of Watergate which left the voters passive.

The failure of candidates to identify with the many specific and pressing problems facing the city may be the most crucial factor in the decline of political organization.

While the business community busily works at building up the reputation of the city as they get place to live and work, the city seems to demonstrate a diffusion of political power if not its absence.

EAST ST. LOUIS AT THE POINT OF DESPERATION

The following is excerpted from the New York Times, April 23.

"In the revolving rooftop restaurant of Stouffer Inn on the St. Louis side of the Mississippi River, the cocktail napkins have a map of the riverfront drawn on them.

"The map notes the Gateway Arch, Busch Stadium, the old cathedral and other points of interest. Ignored completely is the City of East St. Louis, the predominantly black town that comes out only as a blank white space on the napkins.

"The omission perhaps is typical of the feelings of many on both the Illinois and Missouri sides of the Mississippi that East St. Louis should just disappear along with its myriad of problems and seemingly insurmountable decay.

"But East St. Louis is there, standing as an unfortunate example of what happens when a city is allowed to deteriorate to the point of desperation. The city's dwindling population, down to about 60,000, was once predominantly white but is now over 75 per cent black and extremely poor.

"Much of East St. Louis's housing is decayed. There is a deficit of \$2-million in the city government's \$9-million operating budget. Unemployment is over 20 per cent, highest of any city in the state.

"Crime is rampant, and there is not for state and Federal funds for such programs as job training, welfare benefits, public employment and unemployment compensation, things would be much worse than they are.

"More than 30 per cent of the population receives some form of public aid and the overwhelming majority of the rest are dependent on a public payroll . . ."

Following is the text of the conclusions and recommendations contained in "Equal Opportunity in Suburbia," a report to the President and Congress by the United States Commission on Civil Rights. The report is based on a 1969-1974 study of the nation's metropolitan area development and its social and economic impact on urban minorities. Research for the report included public hearings on urban-suburban problems conducted by the commission in St. Louis, Baltimore and Washington, D.C. between January 1970 and June 1971.

U.S. policies encourage city-suburban polarization

Despite a plethora of far-reaching remedial legislation, a dual housing market continues today in most metropolitan areas across the United States. Inadequate enforcement by Federal agencies and circumvention or, at best, lip-service adherence by local authorities, builders, real estate agents, and others involved in the development of suburban communities have helped to perpetuate the systematic exclusion of minorities and low-income families. The result has been the growth of overwhelmingly white, largely affluent suburbs, and the concurrent deterioration of central cities, overburdened by inordinately large and constantly increasing percentages of poor and minority residents.

The 1970 census shows a 94.3 percent white suburban population in metropolitan areas of 500,000 or more residents. In the same areas, the black population of the central city increased in 10 years from 18 to almost 24 percent.

Two of the sectors hardest hit by the extensive residential segregation which has accompanied rapid metropolitan growth have been education and employment. School desegregation has been thwarted and the separate school systems in the city and its surrounding suburbs are by no means equal. Although the central cities face more difficult education problems than the middle and upper-income suburbs, they are forced by other economic considerations to spend proportionally less on schools and special programs.

The city's cultural institutions and police, fire, and sanitation departments are just a handful of the competitors for its dwindling tax revenues. Ironically, suburbanites who visit or work in the city benefit from these city services, but the suburbs offer no reciprocal benefits to excluded urban minorities. Suburbanites, therefore, enjoy the best of both worlds, at the expense of the city dweller.

The urban employment picture has also been damaged by the lack of foresight or equitable planning in suburban growth. Major employers, including the Federal Government, have relocated thousands of jobs in suburban areas without consideration for the housing or transportation needs of low-income or minority employees.

The testimony of numerous witnesses — employers as well as employees and unemployed — evidenced the fact that job opportunities in suburbia go unfilled while unemployment rolls in the central city grow longer. Costly, time-consuming, and otherwise inadequate transportation between city and suburb has proven no substitute for the opportunity to live reasonably close to one's place of employment.

The problem stems in large part from local zoning pow-

ers. While wooing industrial plants to suburban communities, local authorities have simultaneously applied land use controls to exclude or tightly limit low-cost homes and apartments. In some areas, existing black residential neighborhoods have been rezoned commercial to force their dissolution. Municipal veto power over rent supplement housing is another mighty weapon in the zoning arsenal. Because the exercise of these local powers affects other parts of the metropolitan area, the Commission sees a dire need for a supervening authority over community land use control.

One approach which the Commission recommends is the enactment by Congress of legislation establishing metropolitan-wide housing and community development agencies in every state. The agencies' purpose would be to guarantee the availability of housing at all income levels and without regard to race throughout the metropolitan area.

The Commission's other recommendations are addressed to the Executive branch. Although the Federal Government has recognized the suburban problem, it has done little to solve it. Neither The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) nor the Department of Justice has enforced existing antidiscrimination laws vigorously or effectively.

The housing section of the Justice Department's civil rights division, which is responsible for enforcement of the Title VIII antidiscrimination provisions, has only 25 lawyers to handle what is supposed to be a nationwide effort. In 1971, HUD promulgated "affirmative marketing guidelines" requiring developers of new FHA subdivisions and multifamily projects to adopt affirmative programs, including the hiring of minority sales and rental agents, to assure the marketing of housing to all races. But the regulations established no mechanism to guarantee that such plans will actually be carried out.

Unless the Federal Government undertakes a determined effort to enforce federal antidiscrimination laws, city-suburban polarization will continue and the cycle of urban poverty will perpetuate itself uninterrupted and unabated. While the time has long passed for assessing blame, it cannot be denied that federal agencies share with local authorities, the housing industry, and its related professions a moral and legal responsibility for having created a problem which will never solve itself. The task now is to employ the tools suggested, and to make better use of the tools at hand, to break the suburban "noose" and put an end to America's increasing racial polarization.

Findings

1. Minorities, particularly blacks, have been largely excluded from the development of the nation's suburban areas.

2. This exclusion was created primarily by explicit discrimination in the sale and rental of housing.

3. This exclusion is perpetuated today by both racial and economic discrimination. Economic discrimination is often intentionally directed at, and falls most heavily upon minorities, whose incomes generally are significantly below the national average.

4. Suburbanization has been accompanied by the movement of the affluent, primarily white population to the outer rings of the country's metropolitan areas, the so-called "white nooses" that now mark the point at which the city limits end and suburbia begins. Central cities often have been left racially and economically isolated and financially deprived. This process also has:

a. prompted a movement of business and industry to suburbia — a movement which frequently results in minorities being excluded from suburban job opportunities, owing to their inaccessibility;

b. caused cities increasingly to find themselves without financial resources to meet the needs and demands of their residents;

c. led to decreasing economic resources in the city and a concomitant inability to devote sufficient resources to school financing;

d. resulted in the continued growth of racially segregated school systems in metropolitan areas.

5. Since the bulk of new housing is being constructed in suburban areas, the exclusion of minorities from the suburbs diminishes their housing alternatives and often forces minorities to live in substandard inner city housing.

6. The private sector has been a major contributor to this racial and ethnic polarization.

a. Private real estate practices continue to reinforce the existing dual housing market — an exclusionary device based upon racial and economic prejudice and aimed at minorities. Among these practices are steering, failure to admit sufficient black brokers to white real estate boards, control of listings, and reluctance of brokers to establish affirmative marketing procedures.

b. Many financial institutions, such as banks and mortgage lenders, have discouraged integrated community development both by restrictive practices and by lack of affirmative programs in granting loans to minorities who desire housing in suburban areas.

c. The homebuilding industry, on the whole, has not made an adequate attempt to market housing in a non-discriminatory manner.

d. Corporation officials generally have failed to consider the effect of corporate site selection upon low- and moderate-income employees, a practice which often results in disproportionately reducing minority employment.

7. Suburban governments have acted almost exclusively in their own economic interests, often to the detriment of the central city and of the metropolitan area as a whole. Such devices as exclusionary zoning, failure to enact or enforce fair housing ordinances, and failure to utilize federal housing assistance programs have been the mechanisms for preserving insular suburban interests. Thus, white homeowners often were able to purchase moderately priced suburban homes in the 1940's and 1950's when such housing was denied to minorities. Today, this exclusionary pattern is perpetuated by those communities which seek to keep out further moderate-income development through these devices.

8. Past policies of the Federal Government, which openly encouraged racial separation, were instrumental in establishing today's patterns of racial polarization. Present policies of racial neutrality or of encouraging racial integration have failed to alter racially separate patterns.

9. Present federal programs often are administered so as to continue rather than reduce racial segregation.

a. Although federal-aid highway programs have facilitated the movement of jobs and housing to the suburbs, responsible federal highway officials have failed to use the leverage of their massive trust fund monies to alter exclusionary housing patterns in suburbs.

b. Federal programs involving housing loans and guarantees are creating even more widespread housing segregation, rather than promoting equal housing opportunities.

c. The Federal Government has failed to require that federal contractors consider the availability of nondiscriminatory low-income housing for their employees prior to selecting a site for a new facility.

d. In selecting sites for federal facilities, the Federal Government only recently has begun to give priority to communities with an adequate supply of nondiscriminatory housing for federal employees.

10. Despite its past responsibility for today's racial polarization, the Federal Government has failed to take adequate measures to enforce fair housing laws.

a. The Department of Justice, whose function is limited in the enforcement of Title VIII, has been handicapped by inadequate staffing. The Justice Department has failed to take a sufficiently active role in coordinating Title VI enforcement among Federal agencies.

b. The Department of Housing and Urban Development has been similarly understaffed and confined in its activities to answering complaints. Until recently, HUD did not conduct systematic reviews of HUD-funded programs for compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Further, HUD has failed to use its own programs adequately to promote fair housing, as required by Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968.

Recommendations

1. Metropolitan-Wide Residential Desegregation

Congress should enact legislation aimed at facilitating free housing choice throughout metropolitan areas for people of all income levels on a nondiscriminatory basis, thereby reducing racial polarization. This legislation should provide for the following requirements and conditions:

a. Establishment of Metropolitan Housing and Community Development Agencies

Each state should be required, as a precondition to the receipt of future federal housing and community development grants, to establish, within 1 year, several metropolitan housing and community development agencies in each metropolitan area within its borders or to create a single state metropolitan housing and community development agency with statewide authority. Funds should be provided to the state to finance the planning, establishment, and operation of these agencies.

b. Representation on Metropolitan Housing and Community Development Agencies

Each political jurisdiction in a metropolitan area should be represented on a metropolitan housing and community development agency. Such representation should be based on population, with provisions for repre-

sentation by minorities and economically disadvantaged groups.

c. Powers and Duties of Metropolitan Housing and Community Development Agencies

(1) Develop within 3 years a plan governing the location of housing at all income levels throughout the metropolitan area. Among the criteria which the plan must satisfy should be the following:

(a) Housing at various prices and rents will be readily accessible to centers of employment.

(b) There will be adequate transportation and community facilities.

(c) The plan will broaden the range of housing choice for families of all income levels on a nondiscriminatory basis.

(d) The plan will facilitate school desegregation.

(e) The plan will assure against placing a disproportionate share of lower-income housing in any single jurisdiction or group of jurisdictions.

HUD should be directed to review and approve each plan to determine consistency with the legislative criteria and feasibility in achieving them.

(2) The location of all housing — nonsubsidized as well as subsidized, conventionally financed as well as FHA or VA — should be subject to the metropolitan housing and community development agency plan.

(3) Metropolitan housing and community development agencies should be granted power to override various local and state laws and regulations, such as large lot zoning ordinances, minimum square footage requirements, and building codes, which impede implementation of the plan.

(4) Metropolitan housing and community development agencies should be authorized to provide housing pursuant to the metropolitan plan. They should be expressly authorized to act as local public housing authorities and should be made eligible for participation in federally-subsidized housing programs, as well as market-priced housing programs, both FHA/VA and conventionally financed. It should be specified that metropolitan housing and community development agencies may provide such housing only to the extent that the traditional housing producers (local public housing authorities, builders, nonprofit sponsors, etc.) are not doing so.

(5) Applications for funds under various community development programs which have housing implications, such as those administered by the Department of Transportation, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Environmental Protection Agency, as well as the Department of Housing and Urban Development, should be subject to approval by the metropolitan housing and community development agency for consistency with the metropolitan plan. Such approval should be made subject to review by the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

d. Reimbursement Costs

Funds should be provided to reimburse local jurisdictions, including central cities, for added costs, such as those involved in financing education for the increased number of children of low- and moderate-income housing in the community resulting from implementation of the metropolitan plan. Local jurisdictions claiming such reimbursement should be required to provide a detailed accounting of the amount of increased cost and how it has been incurred. This could be accomplished through extension of existing federal programs which give financing aid to educational agencies which have sudden and substantial increases in pupils because of federal action (e.g. Public Law 81-874, impact aid.)

e. Affirmative Marketing

Builders and developers of all housing — unsubsidized as well as subsidized, conventionally financed as well as

FHA or VA — should be required to develop affirmative marketing plans for minority home seekers and submit them to the agency. These plans should include the establishment of numerical goals for minority residence, based upon a realistic evaluation of minority housing need at different income levels.

f. Housing Information Centers

Each metropolitan housing and community development agency should establish offices readily accessible to neighborhoods with a high proportion of minority or lower-income households

g. The local approval provisions governing the public housing and rent supplement program should be eliminated.

Continuing veto power at the local level could thwart the new agency's purpose.

2. Securing Employment Opportunities

The Office of Federal Contract Compliance should require contractors and subcontractors, as a condition of eligibility for federal contracts, to demonstrate the adequacy of nondiscriminatory low- and moderate-income housing, in the communities in which they are located or propose to relocate, to meet current and prospective employee needs. In the event the supply of such housing is not adequate, contractors and subcontractors should be required to submit affirmative action plans, including firm commitments from local government officials, housing industry representatives, and civic leaders, that will assure an adequate supply of such housing within a reasonable time following execution of the contract. Failure to carry out the assurance should be made grounds for cancellation of the contract and ineligibility for future contracts.

3. Federal Enforcement Efforts

a. Department of Justice — The Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice should increase its housing section staff and initiate more actions directed against restrictive land use practices and other forms of systematic denial of equal housing opportunity. The Department of Justice also should require all federal agencies subject to Title VI to adopt strengthened and uniform regulations.

b. Department of Housing and Urban Development — As the leader of the entire federal fair housing effort, the Department of Housing and Urban Development should enjoy an adequate fair housing staff, expand programs to provide funding for groups working in the area of fair housing, and conduct increased reviews

c. Federal Financial Regulatory Agencies — All Federal financial regulatory agencies should require that supervised mortgage lending institutions take affirmative action to implement the prohibition against discrimination in mortgage financing in Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968. The agencies should require the maintenance of racial and ethnic data on rejected and approved mortgage loan applications to enable examiners to determine compliance with Title VIII. They should also require mortgage institutions to include nondiscrimination clauses in contracts.

4. National Policy

In addition to the foregoing, the Commission recommends the adoption of a national public policy designed to promote racial integration of neighborhoods throughout the United States. To implement such a national public policy, the Congress should enact and the President should approve legislation designed to provide suitable subsidies, either through property tax abatements, income tax deductions, direct payments, or other such inducements to individuals and families of all races who voluntarily purchase homes in areas that will accomplish such an objective.

Five years later / BY SALLY THRAN



Five years ago, the United States Commission on Civil Rights came to St. Louis to conduct four days of hearings on the facts and feelings of racial discrimination: discrimination in employment, housing and education; discrimination because of administrative government policies. Hearings were held also in Baltimore and Washington.

The 49 witnesses heard by the commission in St. Louis included 10 blacks whose testimony was not based on expertise in a particular field, community leadership or rationales for existing discriminatory patterns. They spoke only as black persons, working, residing and rearing their children in the St. Louis area.

Mango Ali, a member of the civil rights group ACTION, was among a panel of blacks who told the commissioners of employment problems. Ali, a 13-year employee of McDonnell Douglas Corp., accused both the firm and its unions of failing to give blacks a fair deal. When asked if the situation had improved since he first started work, Ali said:

... Let me say it this way, very little. . . . I was trying to stretch my imagination so as to say, yes, but I can't say yes. I can say, very little at the most, and I am giving them a big play there.

Ali subsequently left McDonnell and opened a lounge in St. Louis. On June 23, 1971, he was shot to death at age 38. News reports briefly described the killing as a dispute with a business partner.

Almost immediately after its St. Louis hearings, the commission strongly rebuked McDonnell Douglas for failure to have adequate recruitment, training and equal opportunity policies for members of minority groups. The criticism led the Pentagon to "reassess" a 7-billion-dollar F-15 fighter contract awarded earlier to the giant aerospace firm, pending full compliance with federal minority hiring standards. By mid-February, 1970, McDonnell had a new minority plan that was acceptable to the Federal Government.

Since that time, ACTION has continued to demonstrate at the plant occasionally, maintaining that hiring and placement practices still leave much to be desired. ACTION chairman Percy Green recently lost a suit charging that his dismissal from McDonnell in the mid-1960s was because of racial discrimination. The Supreme Court had ordered a rehearing before U.S. District Court in St. Louis; the lower court rejected Green's claim.

In brief interviews, some of the other black witnesses offered their views on what the five years since the hearings have wrought.

Larman Williams, principal at Halter High School in Suburban Wellston and now director of federal programs for the Wellston schools:

He estimates the high school population as 98 per cent black; five years ago, his estimate was 85 per cent black.

In 1970, Williams and his wife, Geraldine, told the commission of moving from the city to a mainly white suburb. In his youth, Williams recalled, he would "drift over to Ferguson and look at those lovely houses. . . ."

Williams purchased his Ferguson home only after his pastor met with his prospective neighbors

"and they had a caucus and a prayer meeting and decided that it was only the right thing to do, to sell to a black person."

Today, Williams says his neighborhood remains integrated; he periodically socializes and works with his neighbors.

Williams believes his race ceased to be an issue when other home owners saw that he maintained his property as well as the next man. "It gets to be more a matter of how you can deal with them, not they with you," he says.

His school district is another matter. "Wellston is not catching up," he summarizes. He talks with officials of other districts, who deplore stringent budgets that result in losses of licensed practical nurses, counselors and even a psychiatrist. In Wellston, he says, "We don't have that kind of service to lose."

Williams finds it "difficult" to evaluate the current status of blacks.

"To the degree that the black family can improve education levels, including vocational training, they will be able to get into the mainstream of the middle class. . .

"You want to be optimistic and say that the Feds are doing all the correct things. . ."

"On the other hand, you feel it's the system, that this is a capitalistic society and some people aren't going to make it. The system will do the best it can for them, and keep them from starving, but they are not going to make it."

Edmond Squires, a teacher in the St. Louis school system and a resident of the primarily black suburban community of Kinloch at the time of the hearings:

Squires is one of two educators who credit the 1970 hearings with providing a major impetus for a Department of Justice suit to desegregate the all-black Kinloch schools. The suit resulted in a District Court order to merge Kinloch with two other (suburban) school districts, one of which is virtually all white. All three districts have appealed the order resulting in a stay order that makes it doubtful that any plan will be ready by next fall. But Squires knows that the unanswered question is what will happen when the plan is put into practice.

Squires, interviewed when the ugly side of court-ordered busing in Boston was receiving prominent media display, was uneasy about the portrait of Boston. He said that he thought the press was presenting a less than complete picture.

In 1970, Squires was chairman of the Concerned Citizens for a Quality Kinloch School District, a group formed to press for the dissolution of the Kinloch district.

The group disbanded in mid-1970 — once it felt assured that the Justice Department would act Squires said.

Squires who now lives in suburban Hazelwood, says there are no racial issues in his immediate neighborhood. But a few blocks away, he reports, there has been a fast turnover, with whites moving out and blacks moving in.

Hazelwood is close to the so-called "northwest corridor"

where the movement of black families to suburbia has concentrated over the last 15 years. But Squires says that when he looked for a home 3½ years ago, he considered sections of lily-white south St. Louis County before selecting Hazelwood.

With Boston dominant on his mind, Squires says of a move to an all-white area, "I'd be more reluctant now than then." He added, "I'm not saying I wouldn't move and I'm not talking about any personal experiences."

Asked for his over-all impression of civil rights progress, Squires replied: "I think it's not as good as it appeared to be in the 1960s, when you look deep down inside."

Mrs. Katherine Crockett Wells, a teacher in the Kinloch district:

Mrs. Wells told the commission in 1970 of poor facilities in Kinloch schools, low salaries for teachers and the resulting high turnover rate.

The Kinloch Elementary School, where Mrs. Wells teaches, is the one school in the Kinloch District that would remain open under the current court order — contingent, Mrs. Wells says, on specific renovations.

In contrast to five years ago, remedial programs now exist at Kinloch Elementary and the school has built up its supply of tape recorders and film projectors. In 1970, Kinloch's starting salary for teachers was \$5,500 a year; it is now \$8,100, Mrs. Wells says.

One fact has not changed. Mrs. Wells told the commission that about half her students were receiving public assistance. "That's the same story," she says. "Kinloch is a poverty area."

When the district mergers occur, Mrs. Wells predicts, "it's almost certainly going to entail some chaos."

"If all three districts could get together and work it out maybe a lot of the problems could be solved ahead of time. But right now, there is no communication at all."

Kinloch students are being prepared, Mrs. Wells says. "We are telling our children that a lot will be expected of them... actually, they will adjust much more readily than we will; they are young and flexible."

Kinloch has joined the Berkeley and Ferguson-Florissant Districts in an appeal of the current court order, with attorneys arguing that the black district would bear the brunt of busing. Mrs. Wells indicated her agreement with the Kinloch appeal of the current plan but strongly favors some type of merger. "Kinloch schools are just like a poor man making \$3,000 a year trying to compete with a man making \$15,000 a year," she says. "The Justice Department knows that can't be equal education."

"I can understand the feelings of Ferguson-Florissant residents, and Berkeley," she says. "But our children are being penalized."

Herman Davis, a resident of Olivette in central St. Louis County:

Davis told the commission that he was unaware that his house had been annexed in 1949 by the City of Olivette. In 1955, he was still unaware he lived in Olivette and he was surprised to hear from a neighbor that his home was scheduled to be auctioned by that city for payment of back taxes.

The Davis home was part of an urban renewal program in Olivette, a program that began in 1960 and was still incomplete at the time of the 1970 commission hearing.

Mr. Davis's testimony included this exchange:

Q: Could you tell us what is in the background of the picture (one of several shown of Davis's neighborhood)?

Davis: That is the Indian Meadows subdivision... in new houses...

Q: Next one.

Davis: That's the fence that divides Indian Meadows

subdivision from the area that I live in.

Q: ...What's on top of the fence?

Davis: Barbed wire.

(City officials testified later that the fence was being torn down.)

Davis also told the commission of numerous families who, although they had been promised housing relocation by Olivette, moved from his neighborhood during the years between planning and implementation of the Urban Renewal program.

Today, Davis has a home in the Indian Meadows subdivision. He says a few other black families have moved into the subdivision without problems. He says he received a fair price for his former home. In the summer of 1972, the Department of Housing and Urban Development approved the Olivette plan and housing was built.

"Everything I fought for I pretty well got," Davis says. "I think the hearings had quite a bearing on what happened."

Adel Allen, who moved from Wichita, Kansas, in 1962 to take a position with the McDonnell Space Center and who now works in the computer division of the United States Postal Service:

Allen told the commission of his first St. Louis experience in the early 1960s:

When we came into town that night... we saw the motels on Lindbergh, we decided to get one. As I go to the door the 'No Vacancy' sign comes on... There's a whole line of motels. He gets on the phone as I go down Lindbergh Boulevard I see 'No Vacancy' signs coming on... So it wasn't a matter of me feeling there was discrimination you see, I didn't feel it.

Q: Mr. Allen, you did say... that when you came here you wanted to live in a home in the suburbs because you had been accustomed to the wide open spaces?

Allen: That's correct.

Instead, Allen moved to a section of suburban Kirkwood that had 30 white families and one black family. By 1970, he testified that the block had 30 black and two white families and that services had deteriorated so badly that "what they are making now is a ghetto in the process."

Thanks to a black landowner in Franklin County who was subdividing, the Allen family has now found its wide open spaces. The Allens moved in late 1970 to Villa Ridge, an unincorporated area within metropolitan St. Louis.

Allen obtained a conventional loan from a savings and loan association. "I learned not to fall into the same traps that I did before," he said, "...I looked and performed the way I was expected to."

Allen cites "minor problems" in his area and says his three school age children "have been conditioned to be strong enough to take some abuse."

"As long as the black population is not a threat in the dominating sense, it is more or less accepted," he says.

Allen is now "pretty well out of" civil rights activities. "I used to think that maybe I could bring about a magnificent change. Now I figure maybe I can help four or five people."

Sally Thrane is a reporter for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. She has written extensively on housing and urban problems.

The suburban dilemma: Jobs and workers don't match

PIERRE DE VISE

The uneven movement of jobs and population to the suburbs has been pointed to many times to explain the lengthening work trip, the increase in automobile commuting, the problem of job-linked housing particularly for unskilled, semiskilled and black workers, worker shortages in the suburbs, and unemployment in the inner city. A report on Journey to Work released by the U.S. Census in January 1974 provides detailed data documenting trends that have been discerned from more general and fragmentary evidence available heretofore.

Other volumes of the 1970 Census contain employment, income and social characteristics of workers by their place of residence. The Journey to Work volume gives comparable information on workers by their place of employment. In addition, this volume tells us by-place of residence where workers go to work, and by place of work where they originate.

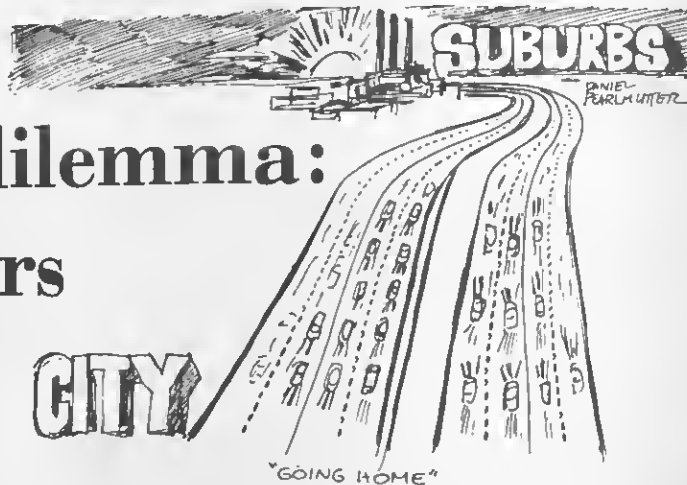
In the 1960 decade, Chicago lost 211,300 jobs and the suburbs gained 548,000 jobs. In these ten years, Chicago's jobs declined at more than twice the rate of its population loss (-12 versus -5 per cent) and suburban jobs grew twice as fast as suburban population (71 versus 35 per cent). Among the six counties of the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA), jobs grew at twice or more the rate of population growth in the more urbanized counties of Cook, Lake and DuPage, and grew at about the same rate as population in the less urbanized counties of Kane, McHenry and Will.

Northwest Cook County gained by far the most jobs and people in the decade, adding 149,400 jobs, and 22,800 people (222,620 whites and 180 blacks). In relative terms, there was a gain of 262 per cent in jobs, and 135 per cent in white population. The black population, however, dropped from 0.2 to 0.1 per cent.

DuPage County registered the second largest relative gains in jobs and people (131 and 59 per cent). The nation's fourth most affluent county gained 82,300 jobs, 177,000 whites and 970 Negroes in the decade.

The virtual exclusion of housing for blacks and moderate income people in northwest Cook and DuPage counties is no doubt an important factor in the job and population boom enjoyed by these two areas. On the other hand, the huge increase in low paying factory and service jobs in these suburbs compounds disjunctions of worker shortages there and of worker surpluses in the inner city 20 to 30 miles away.

The Chicago Plan rightly focuses on the construction trade in its efforts to increase minority employment. But even more important than the exclusionary effect of ap-



prenticeship and other craft union practices in keeping black employment in the construction industry down to 9 per cent is the fact that this is the most suburbanized of all industries. Fifty-eight per cent of the Chicago area construction jobs were in the suburbs in 1970. In contrast, only 11 per cent of the area's black construction workers live in the suburbs.

Chicago's proportion of the six-county area's jobs and labor force is a key measure of relative shifts in jobs and residences of workers. Chicago's share of SMSA jobs fell from 69 to 53 per cent in the decade; its share of labor force (workers living in Chicago) fell from 60 to 49 per cent. Chicago still has more jobs than labor force — 111 jobs for every 100 members of the labor force in 1970 compared to 117 jobs in 1960. But the latter ratio varies greatly by occupation and industry. Managers and executives who live in Chicago have the best pickings with a ratio of 184 jobs per 100 workers, followed by sales people (140) and professionals (133). Chicago-based laborers have the worst pickings (81 jobs for every 100 workers). Other blue-collar groups also have slim pickings: factory operatives (87), service workers (88) and craftsmen (89). In contrast, all Chicago-based blue-collar groups had more jobs than workers back in 1960, with ratios ranging from 105 jobs per worker to 130.

In the same decade, jobs grew twice as fast as population in the suburbs (71 versus 35 per cent). And again the disparities were the greatest in blue-collar areas. Suburban factory jobs grew three times as fast as suburban-based factory workers, and craft jobs increased two-and-a-half times as fast as craftsmen. Among industries, suburban jobs in manufacturing, transportation, communications, and public utilities grew more than twice as fast as the suburban labor force engaged in these industries.

Although the information is not available for 1960, the 1970 distribution of workers by earnings reveals a pattern consistent with that of the occupations, and industries.

Suburban men earn an average income of \$16,700, working downtown; \$13,500, working in the rest of Chicago; \$10,000 working in the suburbs, and \$9,100 working in the suburb of residence. Chicago men earn \$10,000 downtown, \$8,200 in the rest of Chicago and \$8,600 in the suburbs.

Outside of downtown, the places of work with the highest average earnings for males are Des Plaines (\$10,400), Skokie (\$9,900), Elmhurst (\$9,800), and Arlington Heights (\$9,600). Average earnings in Chicago (\$9,120) are only slightly below those of the SMSA (\$9,180) and suburban ring (\$9,240).

Journey to Work shows also dramatic changes over the decade in the Chicago area worker's commuting habits.

Because the new homes and work places are more dispersed and are less accessible by public transportation, the average work trip is longer — 13 versus 7 miles one way — and automobile commuters have increased by one third. A majority of Chicago residents now drive to work (53 per cent in 1970; up from 45 per cent in 1960), while the overwhelming majority of suburbanites now commute by car (80 per cent now; up from 69 per cent in 1960 in the case of Du Page residents).

A corresponding decline in commuting by public transportation saw the proportion of commuters going by bus fall from 19 to 14 per cent (from 30 to 20 per cent for Chicago residents), and that of railroad and subway commuters slide from 12 to 9 per cent (from 13 to 10 per cent for Chicago residents). Thus, the suburbanization of jobs has considerably aggravated the congestion of expressways and surface roads while contributing to the under-utilization of the financially hard-pressed Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) and suburban bus and railroad companies.

The massive suburbanization of jobs has meant that fewer suburbanites now work in Chicago and that more Chicagoans work in the suburbs. Chicago, with 52 per cent of the metropolitan jobs and 48 per cent of the labor force, still has 11 per cent more jobs than labor force. But in large part the city's jobs do not match the skills of its labor force, nor do the suburbs' jobs match their labor force. Suburban Cook County, which added 340,000 new jobs during the decade, threatens to supplant Chicago as the area's major importer of workers. With 29 per cent of the metropolitan area's jobs and 30 per cent of its labor force, suburban Cook County now has about as many jobs as local labor force.

As a result of the shift of Chicago's industrial gravity center to suburban Cook County, there are more than twice as many reverse commuters from Chicago as in 1960: 18 per cent of Chicago's labor force now works in the suburbs, compared to 7 per cent ten years ago.

As might be expected from the much more rapid growth of suburban blue-collar jobs as compared to the labor force, Chicago's blue-collar labor force had the largest gain among reverse commuters. In 1970, 18 per cent of Chicago's laborers worked in the suburbs, compared to 7 per cent in 1960; 21 per cent of its craftsmen worked in the suburbs, compared to 10 per cent in 1960; and 22 per cent of its factory workers worked in the suburbs, compared to 8 per cent in 1960.

Correspondingly, suburban residents now rely less on Chicago work places and more on local industry. For example, only 36 per cent of Park Forest's labor force now works in Chicago, compared with 56 per cent in 1960, the bulk of the remaining labor force working in south Cook County. The proportion of Du Page County's labor force working in Chicago fell from 37 to 23 per cent, with 49 per cent now working in the county, compared with 42 per cent in 1960.

But the much greater increase of jobs than population in suburban Cook, Du Page and Lake counties did not make these laborsheds more self-sufficient. One might have hoped that a benefit of the shift of jobs from worker-importer Chicago to worker-exporter suburbs might make the latter more independent economically and thereby reduce work trips. But on the contrary, most areas and all counties except Du Page are less self-sufficient now than in 1960, and the average work trip has almost doubled in the decade.

The three counties where jobs grew much faster than population increased their ratio of jobs per 100 local workers, while the three outlying counties saw this ratio

drop. But only Du Page County increased its ratio of labor force working locally. The five other counties now export a larger proportion of their labor force than in 1960. For example, Lake County now has 90 jobs per 100 local labor force, compared to 86 jobs in 1960, but now exports 25 per cent of its labor force to other counties, compared to 20 per cent in 1970, and imports 17 compared to 71 per cent of its work force.

The decreasing self-sufficiency of suburbs is more striking at the scale of individual suburbs. With 150 jobs per 100 local workers, Cicero has 50 per cent more jobs than labor force. Yet Cicero exports 63 per cent of its workers and imports 76 per cent of its labor force. Skokie has 37 per cent more jobs than labor force, but must export 72 per cent of its workers and import 79 per cent of its labor force. All Cook and Du Page County places except Chicago and Evanston show similar disparities between job/labor force ratios and economy self-sufficiency. On the other hand, urban places in the four other counties export and import less than half of their labor and work forces.

The main reason for the increasing dependence of suburbs on other work places in spite of substantial increases in local jobs is that the skills and earning expectations of a given suburb's labor force do not match the types and remuneration of jobs available in that suburb. There has been a much greater proliferation of factory jobs than factory labor force in the suburbs and there are huge disparities between the average earnings of the work force and the labor force of individual suburbs. Essentially, new suburban jobs have covered as wide a range of occupational and industrial mix and earnings as those prevailing in Chicago. But the housing built in the suburbs in the 1960 decade has been targeted primarily to the upper middle class professional and managerial worker, hence the inability of most Cook County suburbs to employ their own labor force. Chicago, Evanston, and the urban places in the outlying counties have a much wider choice of housing and hence can accommodate a wider spectrum of workers employable locally.

Black and Spanish-speaking workers have been doubly penalized in the shift of jobs from Chicago to the suburbs. A disproportionate number of these workers are in the blue-collar occupations that are suburbanizing and are in the moderate income brackets which means that they are priced out of new suburban housing. And these workers are excluded from the suburbs on racial as well as economic grounds. The black worker, no matter what his income or his profession, is not free to move to most suburbs. For example, only 15 per cent of Chicago area Negro households earning over \$50,000 lives in the suburbs.

There is abundant evidence of the adverse effect that distance has on the ability of blacks and other minorities to find more employment in the suburbs. First we can examine work trip origins and destinations among the 20 urban areas for black and Spanish-speaking workers. Chicago sends 14 per cent of its black labor force and 20 per cent of its Spanish labor force to the suburbs, but depends on the suburbs for only 2.5 per cent of its black work force and 8 per cent of its Spanish work force. In contrast, for all workers, Chicago depends on suburbanites for 28 per cent of its work force.

In the suburbs too, the proportion of black and Spanish-speaking people working in the county of residence is much higher than for white workers.

The figures seem to indicate a greater resistance to distance in the commuting patterns of Negro and Spanish workers. This is undoubtedly due in part to their lower rates of car ownership, and to their lower earnings. Only half of Chicago area black households and two thirds of

Spanish households own cars, compared to four fifths of white households. Black and Spanish workers earn on the average one third less than white workers. The more people earn, the more time and money they are willing to spend commuting.

It is sometimes said that the main reason why only 10 per cent of Chicago-area blacks lives in the suburbs is that most blacks cannot afford the cost of suburban housing. It is also sometimes contended that the main reason why only 20 per cent of Chicago area black workers work in the suburbs is that most blacks are not qualified to fill the jobs available in the suburbs.

There are relatively easy ways to test these two hypotheses. Matching the housing expenditures of black households with the type and cost of housing in the suburbs shows that in a color-blind housing market about two thirds of the Chicago-area blacks could afford to move from their present communities to white communities in Chicago and the suburbs.

There are similar measurable differences between the white and black labor force that permit the redistribution of the Chicago-area black labor force, given a hypothetical color-blind housing market. Characteristics of occupation, industry and earnings are the major measures of differences between the qualifications (in the market place at least) of white and black workers.

Although blacks have significantly increased their representation in white-collar jobs in the Chicago area since 1960 (from 6 to 10 per cent), their occupational distribution continues to be heavily concentrated in unskilled and semiskilled manual occupations. Although blacks make up 14.5 per cent of the labor force today, they count only 5 per cent of all managers, 6 per cent of all sales people, and 8 per cent of all professional workers.

Black workers have made inroads in most industries in the Chicago area since 1960. Their most striking advances in the last ten years have been in machinery (up from 4 to 10 per cent of the jobs), public utilities (6 to 15 per cent), retail trade (6 to 12 per cent) and finance and insurance (4 to 9 per cent). However, blacks continue to be substantially under-represented in the latter industry, as well as in construction (9 per cent), wholesale trade (9 per cent) and printing (9.5 per cent), even though these industries are concentrated in the central area of Chicago. Similarly, blacks make up but 8 per cent of retail sales workers, in yet another highly centralized industry which involves no unusual technical skills or apprentice training.

On the other hand, blacks continue to be overrepresented in the occupations of service workers (26 per cent), laborers (25 per cent) and household workers (55 per cent) and the industries of primary metals (25 per cent), government (29 per cent) and personal and household services (31 per cent).

And the greatest differences in black participation rates are found in the earnings categories. The proportion of black workers declines drastically as earnings go up — down from 21 per cent for workers earning between \$3,000 and \$7,000, to 16 per cent in the \$7,000 to \$10,000 bracket, to 7 per cent in the \$10,000 to \$15,000 range, and to 2 per cent for those earning over \$15,000.

When we examine the occupations, industries and earnings categories in which blacks are well represented, we note that the suburbs have about 50 per cent of the blue-collar jobs, 50 per cent of the manufacturing jobs, 33.3 per cent of the public administration jobs and 43 per cent of the personal service jobs. We find also that blacks hold 42 per cent of the jobs paying between \$3,000 and \$7,000, and 45 per cent of the jobs paying between \$7,000 and \$10,000. In contrast, only 20 per cent of Chicago area blacks work in the suburbs, a pro-

portion much lower than any of the above categories.

How would black employment in the suburbs increase if black workers were able to live in an open housing market? In an exercise similar to the redistribution of black households in a color-blind housing market, we have reallocated black workers among metropolitan Chicago's 20 urban areas, based on black participation rates in occupational, industrial and earnings categories. It is assumed that these three characteristics are appropriate measures of job qualification and remuneration, and that matching black participation rates for each category of these characteristics to the employment base of the 20 urban areas reasonably removes the barrier of distance presently separating black housing from the suburban jobs for which they potentially qualify.

Such matching indicates that in a color-blind housing market, 170,300 blacks would work in Chicago's suburbs, compared with the 82,000 now working there. The proportion of Chicago area blacks working in the suburbs would shoot up from 21 to 44 per cent. The efficiency of the economy would be enormously enhanced with keener competition among white and black job applicants, shorter work trips for all workers, less traffic congestion, fewer worker shortages in the suburbs, and less unemployment in Chicago.

And all the figures indicate that most of the new jobs created in the Chicago suburbs over the past decade are for blue-collar, moderate income workers. But most of the new housing has been for white-collar, middle and upper income workers. And blacks, regardless of occupation and income, are excluded from most new suburban housing.

It is true that white suburbanites travel farther to work by and large than black city dwellers. But white suburbanites earn twice as much on the average, they may live anywhere they wish, they enjoy more work opportunities, and they are free to choose between private and public transportation. The typical long work trip for a white suburbanite is a 30-mile ride on an air-conditioned train to a downtown desk job paying \$17,000 a year. A typical long work trip for a black reverse commuter is a 30-mile ride in a car pool to an \$8,000 factory job.

The fuel shortage has already slowed down new residential and industrial construction. And the increasing difficulty that new industrial and commercial users have in obtaining gasoline service may be a major barrier to new construction. Gasoline rationing would tend to shorten work trips, encourage car pooling, and temporarily increase transit use. But there will not be a reversal of suburbanizing trends. Few people or jobs will return to the city because of the fuel shortage.

If the fuel shortage eases after a few years, the slowdown in new suburb construction will be shortlived. But if the shortage is of longer duration, the adjustment to shorter work trips will take place within the suburbs. Workers may accept a less satisfactory or lower-paying job for the sake of a shorter work trip. Regional employment centers will also be developed to enhance the diversification of jobs and increase economic self-sufficiency.

And Chicago's reverse commuters, blue-collar workers and blacks, will be the main victims of the fuel shortage. Car pooling and public transportation will not be viable substitutes for most reverse commuters. Thus, the fuel shortage makes more fragile the link between home and jobs for these workers and more imperative the need to open suburban housing.

Pierre de Vise, a frequent contributor to FOCUS/Midwest, is a staff member of the College Of Urban Sciences, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle.

From the Region That Brought You...

...Tom Wicker, Ralph McGill, Willie Morris, David Brinkley, Robert Sherrill, Clifton Daniel, Dan Rather, and Harold Hayes. *Southern Exposure's* "Focus on the Media" issue.

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Diane Thomas, who took *Atlanta* magazine to court charging sexual discrimination... and won; Steve Suitts, who challenged Alabama's exclusively-white educational television network... and won; David Doggett, who spent years trying to establish under-

The issue also offers the regular features of *Southern Exposure*. We use oral history techniques to allow Southerners to describe their own lives, and present interviews with Robert Coles, Sarah Colley (Minnie Pearl), and Alabamian Cliff Durr, a former FCC commissioner who could have taught Nicholas Johnson a few things. With extensive charts, maps, and essays we regularly consider questions of ownership and profit, in this case, "Who owns the media?" And we include an extensive review section of Southern publications.

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Inflation and the black consumer

DANIEL PEARLMUTTER



BY ROBERT B. HILL

The current period of inflation has had grievous effects on the economic status of black people. The income gap between black and white families has risen, and black purchasing power has, in general, declined.

Before examining these phenomena, some background information is in order.

During the early 1960s, price increases remained relatively stable. Between 1961 and 1965, the Consumer Price Index rose at an average rate of about 1.3 percent, while the Wholesale Price Index rose by only 0.7 percent per year.

As a result of the increase in government spending due to the Vietnam War, however, prices began to rise more rapidly than they had in the 1961-65 period. Wholesale prices rose 1.7 percent in 1966, while consumer prices jumped to an annual rate of 3.4 percent in 1966.

The largest upsurge occurred in 1969, when wholesale prices increased 4.8 percent, while consumer prices rose by 6.1 percent. The administration attempted to control this inflation almost entirely by reducing aggregate demand through highly restrictive monetary and fiscal policy.

As a result of these severe policies, the real Gross National Product declined in 1970, sending unemployment up from 3.9 percent in January to 6.0 percent in December 1970, and bringing on the first recession in the U.S. in 10 years.

In August 1971, the administration instituted a wage-price freeze and guidelines which succeeded in slowing unemployment and price increases and causing output to rise. Thus by 1971 and 1972, consumer prices were increasing at an annual rate of only 3.4 percent. But wholesale prices, on the other hand, increased by 6.5 percent in 1972.

With the lifting of mandatory Phase 2 controls in early 1973, consumer prices followed wholesale prices, by soar-

ing 8.8 percent in 1973. And by the first quarter of 1974, the U.S. economy was experiencing "double-digit" annual rates of inflation.

The surge in prices in 1973 can be attributed to several factors: reduced harvests of some important crops in 1972 and early 1973; devaluation of the dollar resulting in increased demand for U.S. products abroad and higher prices for imports; movement from mandatory controls in 1972 to self-administered Phase 3 controls in early 1973 to tighter Phase 4 controls late in the third quarter.

Much of the rise in food prices in 1973 can be traced to the effects of unfavorable weather which reduced agricultural supplies in many areas of the world, notably Russia and Peru, in 1972 and early 1973 — a time when domestic crops were affected by poor weather and expanding demand. Thus a rapid rise in the price of grains and animal feed from mid-1972 through the third quarter of 1973 had an impact on a wide range of food items — meats, poultry, dairy products, cereal and bakery products, eggs, and salad oils.

But by the last quarter of 1973, an impending crisis accelerated price increases for another commodity — fuel. As a result of the threat of an embargo on shipments of crude oil to the U.S. by Arab countries — and later by the actual cutoff of supplies — the price of gasoline and distillates shot up at alarming rates. In the Wholesale Price Index, gasoline prices leaped by 113.8 percent, while heating fuel jumped 186.4 percent. And gasoline and heating oil in the Consumer Price Index rose 19.7 and 46.8 percent, respectively, in 1973.

In fact, the climb in prices of refined petroleum products had been developing over a long period of time as a result of accelerating consumption of gasoline and the failure of domestic output of crude petroleum to keep pace with the rise in production of refined petroleum products.



Thus, the need for imports of crude oil expanded sharply and as a result, import quotas of crude oil and refined products were lifted in the spring of 1973. Consequently, the Arab countries decided to exploit this need on the part of the U.S. in their confrontation with Israel by imposing an oil embargo. Gasoline rationing was instituted throughout the country and a Federal Energy Office was established. Although the energy crisis abated somewhat after the oil embargo was lifted in March 1974, its aftereffects continue to reverberate.

Of course, these developments led to sharp increases in the full range of nonfood commodities and services as well — rent, utilities, housing maintenance and repairs, furniture, appliances, apparel, transportation, and medical care.

THE IMPACT ON AMERICAN CONSUMERS

What impact did these price increases have on American consumers? Which consumers suffered most from these increases — the middle-income or the low-income consumers? Most analyses of the situation have concluded that all income groups have suffered somewhat from the 1973-74 inflation and energy crisis — but low-income groups suffered most of all.

According to a study conducted by the Washington Bureau of the National Urban League, the poor and minorities were disproportionately affected by the energy crisis. They had to pay more rent for less or no heat. Being the last hired, they were the first fired. Many black small businessmen, especially service station owners — one of the fast-growing and lucrative small black enterprises — lost their business as a result of the energy crisis.

Moreover, a recent study by the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies revealed that although the poor use

less fuel to heat their homes, they use that smaller amount of energy less efficiently, since they are least likely to have winterizing features and equipment that save fuel. Almost 70 percent of all poor households have no storm doors or windows, and more than half of the one-family houses lived in by the poor have no insulation.

According to a study of inflation by the staff of the U.S. Congress Joint Economic Committee, both middle-income and low-income consumers suffered as a result of the 1973 inflation — but low-income consumers much more. Between August 1971 and December 1973, it was estimated that prices rose about 16 percent for the poor, but only 13 percent or less for middle-income and upper-income consumers. Overall, this study concluded that the real purchasing power of the average American consumer declined by more than 1 percent in 1973.

Real adjusted hourly earnings (the hourly wage for production and nonsupervisory workers in the private nonfarm economy, adjusted for changes in overtime, interindustry shifts in employment, and price increases) increased 3.6 percent in 1972, but fell 1.6 percent during 1973.

Also, real gross average weekly earnings — a measure of the pretax weekly earnings of production-related workers, corrected for inflation — declined 1.7 percent in 1973, compared to an increase of 3.4 percent during 1972. And, finally, real spendable weekly earnings — after taxes take-home pay adjusted for inflation — increased 4.3 percent in 1972, but dropped 3.1 percent in 1973. Of course, since these annual changes are based on changes from fourth quarter to fourth quarter (when impact of inflation was greatest), they are greater than the changes in purchasing power that would have been obtained if differences between annual averages were used.

However, even analysts from the Bureau of Labor

Statistics acknowledge that, "while gains in current dollar earnings were somewhat larger in 1973 than the year before, sharp 1973 increases in consumer prices more than offset these gains, and workers' real purchasing power declined during the year."

The decline continued into 1974. By March of 1974 the net spendable earnings of workers with three dependents had dropped 4.5 percent below the March 1973 level (in constant dollars).

What do the changes in purchasing power for black and white consumers mean?

INCREASING UNEMPLOYMENT

The inflation of 1973, coupled with the onset of the energy crisis near the end of the year, resulted in an increase in the nation's unemployment rates — especially among black workers. Between March 1973 and March 1974, the (unadjusted) unemployment rate for black workers rose 3 percent (from 9.0 to 9.3), while the unemployment rate for white workers increased 2 percent (from 4.7 to 4.8).

Or, the number of unemployed black workers increased 7 percent (from 887,000 to 948,000), while the number of unemployed white workers increased 5 percent (from 3.6 to 3.8 million).

Black teenagers, with an unemployment rate of 31.9, were undoubtedly one of the hardest hit groups of workers. White teenagers had an unemployment rate of 13.3 percent.

But surprisingly, the group of workers next most seriously affected by the inflation and energy crisis of 1973-74 was adult black men. While the unemployment rate for white men remained unchanged (at 3.6 percent) between March 1973 and March 1974, the unemployment rate for adult black men shot up by 12 percent — from 6.6 to 7.4 percent.

Furthermore, black men had the largest increase in the number of workers unemployed 15 weeks or more. While all other groups of workers (including black women) showed a decline in long-term unemployment over this period, the number of long-term unemployed black men leaped 41 percent — from 105,000 in March 1973 to 148,000 in March 1974.

These findings are consistent with unemployment patterns since the onset of the energy crisis in October 1973. The black male breadwinner appears to have been disproportionately hurt by inflation and the energy crisis. Consequently, one can expect a decline in the earnings capacity of thousands of black families.

But adult males were not the only breadwinners in black families hurt by inflation and the energy crisis. Women heading their own families were equally affected, if not more so.

The civilian labor force participation of black married women (with husband absent) dropped from 57 percent in 1969 to 49 percent in 1973. Not only were these women more likely to have to withdraw from the labor force over this period, but those remaining in the labor force experienced longer periods of unemployment.

In 1969 only 6 percent of the black married women with husband absent were unemployed, but by 1973, 13 percent of these women were unemployed. Declining job opportunities apparently forced many of these women to withdraw from the labor force.

Another factor responsible for this decline in labor force participation was the unavailability of low-cost child care services and spiraling price increases for those currently existing. Thousands of working mothers either could not find a child care facility for their children or could not afford those that did exist.

Between the fourth quarter of 1972 and the fourth quarter of 1973, the proportion of black women withdrawing from the labor force because of home responsibilities and school jumped from 44 percent to 54 percent. Consequently, a decline in their labor force participation led to an increase in the number of female-headed families dependent on some public assistance.

According to a 1974 Census Bureau report, the labor force participation of working wives in black families declined between 1970 and 1973 as well. This decline led to a sharp drop in the purchasing capacity of most black families, which are dependent on a wife in the labor force to keep them above the poverty level.

WIDENING INCOME GAP

The steady decline in gainful job opportunities for female heads of black families is a major factor in widening the income gap between black and white families.

Between 1972 and 1973, the median income of black families increased by only 6 percent (from \$6,864 to \$7,269), while white median family income rose by 9 percent (from \$11,549 to \$12,595). This slower increase in black family income widened the gap between black and white families.

Black median family income as a proportion of white median family income went from 59 percent to 58 percent between 1972 and 1973. This represented a sharp drop from the black to white family income ratio of 61 percent in 1969.

The decline in black income relative to whites, as a result of the 1973 inflation, was greatest among black families in the Northeast and West. Between 1972 and 1973, the black to white family income ratio in the Northeast dropped from 64 percent to 59 percent, while the ratio in the West dropped from 71 percent to 65 percent.

This represents a significant worsening in the relative economic status of blacks in these regions since 1969, when black family income was two thirds of white family income in the Northeast and three fourths of white family income in the West. Apparently inflation and the energy crisis accelerated the decline for blacks in these regions.

Interestingly, it is the South where the black to white ratio of family income has remained almost constant over the past 4 years. The black-white family income ratio of 56 percent in 1973 was not significantly different from that in 1972 (55 percent) or the ratio in 1969 (57 percent).

At the same time, although the black to white income ratio of 69 percent in the North Central region in 1973 remained virtually unchanged from 1972, this did constitute a sharp drop in the relative economic status of blacks in that region from 1969, when black median family income was 76 percent of white median family income.

These data strongly indicate that the relative economic status of black families in most regions of the country has significantly worsened since 1969 and that inflation and the energy crisis have accelerated the descent. Whether this decline in economic status is a consequence of a deliberate "benign neglect" policy regarding blacks and other minorities is open to debate. But the fact of the decline is not.

THE SHRINKING MIDDLE CLASS

The economic status of black families has not only worsened relative to white families, but relative to their own former status as well. In fact, contrary to reports in the media, the proportion of black families who are econ-

omically "middle class" has not significantly increased in recent years. If anything, the 1973-74 inflation may have brought about a decline in the proportion of middle-class black families.

In 1972, 26 percent of black families were above the Bureau of Labor Statistics intermediate ("modest, but adequate") family budget level, compared to 24 percent of black families above that standard in 1973. Furthermore, the proportion of black families above the BLS lower budget level — which is based on a nutrition-deficient food plan for welfare recipients — dropped from 46 percent to 44 percent between 1972 and 1973.

Thus the standard of living of middle-income and low-income black families suffered severe setbacks in 1973. While Government statistics continue to show increasing numbers of black families moving into higher income levels, their real purchasing power has not significantly improved.

But it should be noted that the living standard of white families also did not significantly improve in 1973. About half of all white families continued to remain above the BLS intermediate levels in 1972 and 1973, while close to three fourths of white families remained above the lower BLS family budget levels.

DECLINE IN REAL INCOME

The decline in the standard of living of black families in 1973 is sharply revealed in the failure of black family income to keep up with inflation. Based on annual average differences, consumer prices increased 6.2 percent between 1972 and 1973, but black family gross income, in current dollars, increased by only 5.9 percent. When black family income is adjusted for inflation, we find that the real gross income of black families did not increase at all (at -0.3 percent) between 1972 and 1973.

Several news accounts described the 8.4 percent increase in gross median family income (from \$11,116 to \$12,051) of all families in the U.S. between 1972 and 1973 as an indication that the income gains of the average American family had "outpaced" the 6.2 percent annual rate of inflation. Such assertions are misleading, since a more accurate assessment of gains in purchasing power requires an examination of gains in spendable income — income after taxes — and not gross income.

An examination of disposable income reveals a far worse decline in the purchasing power of black families in 1973. While black family income after taxes, in current dollars, increased about 4 percent between 1972 and 1973, real spendable income of black families declined 2 percent. At the same time, real spendable income of white families just barely kept pace (at 0.6 percent) with inflation.

One of the largest declines in purchasing power among black families in 1973 occurred in the husband-wife families where the wife was not in the paid labor force — about half of all two-parent black families.

Although the real disposable income of black husband-wife families with wives in the paid labor force just kept pace (at 0.2 percent) with inflation between 1972 and 1973, the real disposable income of black husband-wife families with wives outside the paid labor force dropped 4 percent. At the same time, families headed by black women who worked year-round, full-time made out somewhat better — with an increase in real disposable income (of 0.4 percent) that kept pace with inflation.

Among white families, however, the two-earner families — and not the one-earner families — experienced the largest decline in purchasing power in 1973. While the increase in real disposable income of white husband-wife families whose wives were outside the paid labor force barely kept up (at -0.6 percent) with inflation, the white

husband-wife families with working wives experienced a drop in real purchasing power of 3 percent.

Apparently, the increases in the social security tax rate and the maximum taxable income for social security were major factors in the decline in the purchasing power of two-earner white families in 1973.

Welfare recipients and other poor groups suffered the greatest loss in purchasing power as a result of inflation in 1973. Welfare benefits and food stamp increases have lagged behind the increase in the cost of living. Between December 1972 and December 1973, the average monthly AFDC payment per recipient increased only 5.5 percent, while the average food stamp bonus value rose by only 9 percent — far below the 20 percent increase in food prices in 1973.

Moreover, according to a report prepared by a panel of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, only one-third of those eligible for food stamps get them and only 3 percent of the elderly poor eligible for federally-subsidized special meals get them.

A major reason for the low utilization of food stamps by the poor is that many of them are simply too poor to afford them. Thus, untold members of poor families in this nation are going without food — as well as other essential goods and services — for longer and longer periods.

In sum, while the real disposable income of white families barely kept pace with cost of living increases in 1973, the purchasing power of the average black family declined by 2 percent. Moreover, while the gain in real spendable income of black families headed by women working full-time just kept up with inflation, the real purchasing power of black husband-wife families where the wives were not in the labor force dropped 4 percent between 1972 and 1973. Because welfare and food stamp benefits increased at a slower rate than inflation, the poor and welfare recipients suffered sharp declines in their purchasing power in 1973.

KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

How can the disastrous effects of inflation on black and poor people be mitigated? First, the depression-level unemployment rates and decline in real purchasing power in black and poor communities throughout the nation require that inner-city areas be declared economic disaster areas and special federal funds be allocated for their relief.

Second, a widely expanded public service employment program should be established on a continuing basis and directed toward significantly increasing employment opportunities for adult breadwinners in minority and poor families, especially women heads of household.

Third, the cost of child care services should be reduced for working mothers by significantly increasing the number of low-cost day care facilities available and reducing the cost to low-income mothers for those services currently existing.

And last, taxes should be reduced for low-income persons in order to stop the decline in their purchasing power. Rates of both federal income and social security payroll taxes should be reduced for low-income families in order to alleviate some of the burden of "double taxation."

Robert B. Hill is the director of research for the National Urban League, Inc., in Washington, D.C. This article is excerpted from the book, *Inflation and the Black Consumer*, available from the National Urban League, Inc. Research Dept. 733 15th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20005 (\$1.25).

Abortion:

should Constitution be amended?

BY DAVID LOOMIS

A matter of life and death faces Congress, but as it has for the past two years, Congress is trying to avoid the issue.

The issue is abortion, and most members of Congress see it as a no-win conflict politically, one involving deep moral and ethical convictions. Polls show an even split on the subject, offering Congress little hope of satisfying either side.

Anti-abortion forces are pressing for a constitutional amendment but the House—reflecting Congress' desire to avoid a direct vote on the subject—has held no hearings.

When the Senate completes hearings this summer, the House will be under mounting pressure to act on the issue—a prospect not pleasing to the members.

"There's no way in hell they're going to resolve this thing," said a staff aide to the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil Rights and Constitutional Rights.

'Pro-life' Movement

Opponents of legalized abortion have adopted a never-say-die attitude despite a series of setbacks to their cause.



Two contrasting rallies point up the emotion on the abortion issue, one (left) at the U.S. Capitol Jan. 23 protesting the Supreme Court decision liberalizing abortion and the other



(right) a pro-abortion rally in Boston Feb. 18 supporting Dr. Kenneth C. Edelin, following his manslaughter conviction after he performed a legal abortion.

"We're not going to back down. We're not going to desist. We're not going to fade into the woodwork, because this is part of Roman Catholic teaching," said Msgr. James T. McHugh of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

"We can never let it rest. The issue will never die as long as *Roe* and *Doe* stay on the books," said Robert N. Lynch, lobbyist for the National Committee for a Human Life Amendment Inc.

Jane Roe and Mary Doe are two unidentified women who brought suits against Texas and Georgia, respectively, claiming that anti-abortion statutes of those states violated their constitutional rights to personal privacy. On Jan. 22, 1973, the Supreme Court ruled 7-2 in their favor, making restrictive state abortion laws unconstitutional. Since then legal abortions have risen at a rate of 27 per cent in 1973 and about 20 per cent in 1974. Now, abortion nearly equals tonsillectomy as the most frequently performed surgical procedure.

Since then, the "pro-life" movement has had only spotty success in its efforts to get a congressional reversal of the Supreme Court's decision.

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission delivered a blow to the pro-lifers April 14 by urging Congress to reject proposed constitutional amendments that would nullify the Supreme Court decision and to reject anti-abortion legislation designed to circumvent that decision. Further, the commission urged Congress to repeal such laws already enacted.

A House subcommittee staff aide said the Civil Rights Commission report was "one more feather in the cap of those who oppose holding hearings" on the issue.

John P. Mackey, a lobbyist for the Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of Life Inc., questioned the commission's authority to make its inquiry. Mackey also criticized the findings as "a ludicrous comment that a constitutional amendment would be unconstitutional."

Proposals

Opponents of abortion have introduced several proposed amendments to the Constitution in both the Senate and House. The proposals basically are of two major types:

- "Right-to-life" amendments of the kind first introduced by former Rep. Lawrence J. Hogan (R Md., 1969-75), a week after the 1973 *Roe* and *Doe* decisions. Three current proposals, S J Res 6 by Sen. Jesse A. Helms (R N.C.) and S J Res 10 and S J Res 11 by Sen. James L. Buckley (Cons-R N.Y.), would guarantee rights to life to the unborn at "every stage of their biological development" (S J Res 10 and 11), or more specifically, from the moment of fertilization (S J Res 6). The Buckley proposals make exceptions for performing abortions in "an emergency when a reasonable medical certainty exists that continuation of the pregnancy will cause the death of the mother" (S J Res 10), or for "those medical procedures required to prevent the death of the mother" (S J Res 11). The Helms proposal makes no exceptions.

- "States' rights" amendments of the type first introduced in the House by G. William Whitehurst (R Va.). Whitehurst's proposal (H J Res 96) reads, in part: "Nothing in this Constitution shall bar any state or territory or the District of Columbia, with regard to any area over which it has jurisdiction, from allowing, regulating or prohibiting the practice of abortion."

Some observers say that congressional support for the amendments, where it can be found, seems to be shifting in favor of the states' rights approach, which has virtually no support from anti-abortion groups, and away from the Helms-Buckley right-to-life approach.

"The states' rights amendment attracts moderates who don't want to get into the issue directly," said an aide to the House subcommittee.

Problems with how to deal with contraceptives such as the intrauterine device (IUD) and the morning-after pill, which may act as abortifacients (abortion-inducing agents), also have caused a shift away from the right-to-life type of proposal, the observers say.

When Does Life Begin?

The contraceptives problem illustrates the extreme difficulties encountered when attempting to word a constitutional amendment dealing with the very basic, and sharply disputed, question: When does life begin?

If life begins at fertilization, as most in the pro-life movement contend, then women who use IUDs or the morning-after pill might be violating the law if the Constitution were amended to guarantee the right to life of every fertilized ovum. Some medical evidence suggests that IUDs prevent pregnancy after fertilization and that the devices therefore could be classified as abortifacients.

The Supreme Court position on the question of when life begins, while giving a nod to "the vigorous opposing views, even among physicians," was that a state's interests in the protection of the "potential life" of the unborn fetus began at "viability," that is, when the fetus could survive outside the mother—usually during the last 12 weeks of pregnancy.

The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, which last year began hearings on the proposed constitutional amendments, planned to devote hearings May 9 to problems related to the wording of such an amendment and the possible effect on the use of IUDs and the morning-after pill.

Compromise Abandoned

One attempt to write a compromise constitutional amendment was fruitless. Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott (R Pa.) spent more than a month drafting language aimed at loosening what he felt was the overly restrictive language of the Buckley and Helms proposals. Scott wanted to allow abortions in cases involving rape, incest, evidence of severe fetal deformities and threats to the life of the mother.

But in March Scott began sending form-letter responses to constituents saying, "...because the drafting of legislative language to conform to my views appears impossible, I believe it is both useless and unrealistic to pursue this avenue any further." (*Box*, p. 28)

Scott also failed to draft language that would limit abortions to the first trimester (12 weeks) of pregnancy, during which abortion statistically and medically is safer than carrying a pregnancy to full term.

Under the proposal that Scott discarded, many women who discovered that their unborn children were suffering severe birth defects would have been forced to have their babies. Such defects often are detected by the technique of amniocentesis, which can be tried only after the 18th week.

Other groups of women who would have been affected by the first-trimester limitation would have been the very young, who likely would be afraid to admit their pregnancy to their parents; the very poor, who through lack of education might be unaware of their condition; and the menopausal, who might be unaware that they still could conceive.

"We were trying to define 'life' and 'death' and it was just impossible," said Tracey Mullen, an aide to Scott. "We couldn't get support from anybody."

Abortion Groups: Pro and Con

Few groups are registered to lobby for or against abortion legislation. But several multi-issue organizations that are barred from lobbying as non-profit, tax-exempt organizations are actively monitoring congressional activity on the abortion issue. The most active groups of both types are:

Pro-abortion

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), 410 1st St. S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Jay A. Miller, associate director. Washington liaison for the ACLU's New York-based Reproductive Freedom Project, a research arm of the organization, is Priscilla P. Williams, at the same address. The ACLU employs registered lobbyists.

National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) (formerly National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws), 705 G St. S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Karen Mulhauser, co-director, is a registered lobbyist. NARAL is headquartered in New York and has chapters around the country. It claims a membership of 10,000.

National Organization for Women (NOW), National Press Building, Room 1266, 14th and F Sts. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20045. Casey Hughes, director of legislative office. NOW employs lobbyists on several issues affecting women, including abortion.

Planned Parenthood-World Population, 1666 K St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. Jeannie I. Rosoff, director. Planned Parenthood is concerned with issues involving family planning and is financed through contributions and government grants. The organization is barred from lobbying.

Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, 100 Maryland Ave. N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Ilse M. Darling, national director. The coalition, made up of individuals and about 20 religious organizations of various denominations, is barred from lobbying.

Anti-abortion

Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of Life Inc., National Press Building, Room 810, 14th and F Sts. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20045. John P. Mackey, director. The committee, headquartered in New York, solicits contributions from around the country. It is registered to lobby.

National Conference of Catholic Bishops, Committee for Population and Pro-Life Activities, 1312 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. Msgr. James T. McHugh, director. The committee implements policies of the bishops. It is not registered to lobby.

National Committee for a Human Life Amendment Inc., 1707 L St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Robert N. Lynch, president, is a registered lobbyist. The committee was created by the bishops of 145 of the 169 U.S. Catholic dioceses.

National Right to Life Committee Inc., National Press Building, Room 557, 14th and F Sts. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20045. Ray L. White, executive director. The office is the national coordinator for a number of affiliated state and local right-to-life groups. The organization is registered to lobby.

Senate

Action on the constitutional amendment proposals has been limited to hearings held by the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, chaired by Birch Bayh (D Ind.).

Bayh began the hearings in 1974—an action that some observers regarded as an election-year response to pressure from various anti-abortion groups within Bayh's home state. These observers expected Bayh to quietly drop the hearings after his re-election last fall.



Jesse A. Helms



G. William Whitehurst

Sponsors of anti-abortion bills

But hearings are continuing and will go on at least through the summer. And persons on both sides of the issue have praised Bayh for his fairness and sincerity.

Through April 1975 there had been 13 days of hearings with a total of 75 witnesses.

Restrictions

In 1973, the year of the Supreme Court decision, both chambers adopted several floor amendments to routine legislation which were designed to reduce the availability of abortions. Two of these eventually became law in modified form. An amendment by Sen. Frank Church (D Idaho) to the Health Programs Extension Act of 1973 (PL 93-45) permitted institutions receiving federal funds to refuse to perform abortion procedures.

An amendment by Sen. Helms to the 1973 Foreign Assistance Act (PL 93-189) prohibited the use of U.S. funds overseas to pay for abortions or to motivate or coerce any person to seek or practice abortion.

Bartlett Amendment

Although no major new abortion restrictions were enacted in 1974, a House-Senate conference committee urged Congress to consider "enactment into basic law of carefully drawn legislation dealing with the subject of abortion." The recommendation came from conferees who finally eliminated a sharply contested amendment by Sen. Dewey F. Bartlett (R Okla.) to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare-Department of Labor appropriations bill.

The Bartlett amendment re-emerged in 1975 during consideration of legislation (S 66) to extend nurse training and health services programs. It would have barred the use of federal medical care money to pay for or to encourage abortions, except to save the life of the mother.

The Senate April 10 voted 54-36 to table (kill) the proposal, with Edward M. Kennedy (D Mass.) leading the opposition to the amendment. While he personally opposes abortion, Kennedy said, S 66 "is not the proper place to resolve the issue."

Jacob K. Javits (R N.Y.), sponsor of the motion to table the Bartlett proposal, called it "outright, blatant, outrageous discrimination" against poor people, who he said depend on Medicaid funds for abortions.

A bill (S 318) sponsored by Bartlett has the same language as the floor amendment and is before the Senate Finance Committee. No hearings are scheduled.

The leadership role of Kennedy, a Roman Catholic, drew surprised reactions from both sides of the issue. "We didn't think Kennedy would speak out, much less lead a floor debate against the [Bartlett] amendment," said Karen Mulhauser of the National Abortion Rights Action League, a "pro-choice" organization supporting the *Roe* and *Doe* decisions.

On the other side, John P. Mackey, a lobbyist for the Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of Life, targeted Kennedy as the "number-one opponent" of the anti-abortion cause in Congress.

Supporters of the Bartlett amendment voiced moral objections to the use of public tax dollars to pay for abortions. The HEW Department has estimated that Medicaid funds pay for as many as 280,000 abortions a year at a cost of \$50-million.

House

Activity in the House on the abortion issue has been almost nonexistent and what little there has been went on behind closed doors.

A Divergence of Opinion

The divergence of opinion over abortion extends even into the White House.

At a Sept. 4, 1974, press conference, the President's wife, Betty Ford, was asked whether her views were closer to those of Sen. James L. Buckley (Cons-R N.Y.), who opposes legalized abortions, or to those of then Vice President-designate Nelson A. Rockefeller, who favored legalized abortions as governor of New York. "Definitely Rockefeller," Mrs. Ford replied.

The following day J. F. terHorst, then the President's press secretary, was asked the President's position in light of his wife's view. The President "favors a constitutional amendment permitting the states to enact legislation in this field," terHorst said.

The Supreme Court in 1973 ruled that state anti-abortion laws were unconstitutional.

1976 Hopfuls

Most prospective presidential candidates for 1976 say they have not made up their minds on the issue.

An exception is Gov. George C. Wallace (D) of Alabama who is "opposed to legalized abortion for the masses," according to an aide. However, Wallace does not consider it a major issue, nor does he receive much mail on it, the aide said.

In 1974, abortion opponents in the House tried to bring a constitutional amendment to the floor by a discharge petition, a rarely used and even more rarely successful device designed to pry loose measures blocked in committee. The petition fell 100 short of the required 218 signatures. It has yet to be reactivated in the 94th Congress.

Former Rep. Hogan initiated the discharge petition move to circumvent Don Edwards (D Calif.), chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil Rights and Constitutional Rights.

Edwards steadfastly has maintained that the subcommittee is busy with other more pressing projects and that there is no sentiment in the subcommittee for holding hearings on abortion.

Mark J. Gallagher of the National Committee for a Human Life Amendment disagrees. "A bipartisan majority now exists in the subcommittee" in favor of holding hearings out of fairness, Gallagher said.

"That's not true to the best of my knowledge," Edwards told Congressional Quarterly. "If it is, they haven't told me. I'm a creature of the subcommittee."

Loss of Leaders

Right-to-life forces essentially are leaderless in the House this year. Besides Hogan, Republicans who did not return with the more liberal Democratic 94th Congress included abortion foes Angelo D. Roncallo of New York and Harold V. Froehlich of Wisconsin.

Hogan gave up his seat to run for governor of Maryland. He failed to win the Republican nomination but his stand on abortion was not considered a factor in his defeat.

Froehlich and Roncallo, who were defeated for reelection to second terms, had sponsored legislative amendments to limit funding of abortion procedures. Abortion was not considered a factor in either defeat. A Democrat who is a Roman Catholic priest, Rev. Robert J. Cornell, defeated Froehlich and Roncallo had been tried and acquitted of conspiracy and extortion.

Public Opinion

The fact that the abortion issue was not a major factor in the defeats of three of Congress' most vocal opponents of abortion points up an odd disparity in public sentiment on the issue. Polls show that while the public is nearly evenly split in favor of or in opposition to the Supreme Court decision liberalizing abortion, few persons consider abortion a major issue.

A Gallup Poll conducted in October 1974 asked whether abortions should remain legal through the first three months of pregnancy. Fifty-one per cent said abortions should remain legal and 49 per cent said they should not.

Another national poll released in March 1975, however, found that only .2 per cent of the respondents regarded abortion as the most important problem facing the nation, and that abortion ranked 10th in importance in a list of selected issues—behind busing and ahead of mental retardation.

That poll, commissioned by the National Committee for a Human Life Amendment, an arm of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, had some disparate findings of its own.

The poll headlined the finding that "nearly three out of four Americans" believe that Congress should do something to change the Supreme Court decision of 1973. That figure was drawn from a list of five options given to respondents, ranging from one proposing that all abortions be made illegal to one proposing that Congress do nothing, thereby

letting *Roe* and *Doe* stand. The option that Congress do nothing was chosen by 25.1 per cent of the respondents, indicating to the sponsors of the poll the figure of "nearly three out of four."

However, only 27.7 per cent of the respondents felt a candidate's stand on abortion would be a factor in their decisions to vote for the candidate.

"It was damn candid of us to release the poll," said Robert Lynch, president of the National Committee for a Human Life Amendment, "and of course we put it in the best light in the press release."

Publicity

Lynch's organization, a creation of the bishops of 145 of the country's 169 Catholic dioceses, is registered to lobby Congress on the issue. But Lynch sees his main function as educational in nature.

"If you can convince people of the presence of life, they become more conservative. Twenty-two per cent [in the poll] didn't know when life begins. But if you give them a card with options, with information on when life begins, then they change their responses in favor of life," Lynch said.

Referring to the March 3 *Newsweek* magazine cover depicting a 16-week-old fetus, Lynch said, "That cover must have made the opposition's teeth itch. I couldn't have bought that kind of publicity with all the money in the world. People could see with their own eyes whether life is present or not."

The use of vivid color photographs of aborted fetuses in literature supplied by the right-to-lifers has drawn criticism from abortion proponents, who say the pictures serve only to heighten the emotionalism surrounding the issue.

Nellie J. Gray, an organizer of the two "Marches for Life" on Congress on the anniversary of the Supreme Court's abortion decision, admits the photographs are "a gory mess and a nasty bit."

But, she said, "They're fact."

Catholic Role

Religious doctrine tinges much of the debate on abortion. The religion aspect has produced a fervor that is evident in recent news items. The Most Rev. Leo Maher, Roman Catholic bishop of the San Diego, Calif., diocese, ordered April 18 that no Catholic be allowed holy communion who admits publicly to membership in the National Organization for Women (NOW) or any other pro-abortion groups.

Official church doctrine is "a flat-out ban on all abortions," said Msgr. McHugh of the U.S. Catholic Conference.

Evidence of interfaith controversy surfaced during a recent United Methodist Council of Bishops convention in Minneapolis, Minn., where delegates eventually struck down a resolution condemning the vigorous right-to-life activities of the Roman Catholic Church. The council instead adopted an unadorned statement supporting the Supreme Court decision on abortion.

The Catholics' high profile in the issue often has drawn fire from the other side.

"With the backing of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, they [abortion opponents] get a lot of free publicity in church every Sunday," said Karen Mulhauser of the National Abortion Rights Action League.

"The Catholic church traditionally has used the pulpit to tell people how to vote," said Elizabeth B. Stengel of the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights. "With the Catholics, it's a top-priority item. It's a part of their religious doctrine."

Scott Compromise Abandoned

Shortly after the Feb. 15 manslaughter conviction of Dr. Kenneth C. Edelin in Boston, anti-abortion groups in Pennsylvania contacted Sen. Hugh Scott (R Pa.), asking him to support pending "right-to-life" proposals to amend the Constitution.

Believing those proposals to be too restrictive, Scott spent about a month trying to draft a compromise proposal allowing for abortions for certain "compelling reasons."

Around the middle of March, Scott gave up the effort and began sending the following response to constituents:

Dear—:

Many thanks for sharing with me your concerns about my introducing a Constitutional Amendment to restrict abortion. It was good of you to take the time to write.

As you know, my consideration of introducing a Constitutional Amendment to prohibit abortion, except for certain compelling reasons, has met with great opposition from both sides. The "Right to Life" movement considers my proposal too liberal; the feminists consider it restrictive and discriminatory.

In view of the expressed opposition indicating unacceptability from widely opposing points of view, and because the drafting of legislative language to conform to my views appears impossible, I believe it is both useless and unrealistic to pursue this avenue any further.

Again, thank you so much for contacting me.

Sincerely,

Hugh Scott

Their high visibility also has made Catholics open to charges that they are oiling the machinery of the right-to-life lobby with a generous flow of financial support.

Right-to-lifers deny this. "The other side tries to cast the issue in an anti-Catholic light, to make the Catholic church the boogie man to the tune of millions of dollars," said Lynch of the Catholic bishops' National Committee for a Right to Life Amendment. "I haven't seen it."

"I wish it were true. I wish the Catholic church would give us some money," said Ray L. White, executive director of the National Right to Life Committee.

One recently organized pro-life group split from the largest anti-abortion group, White's National Right to Life Committee, in a conscious effort to avoid the "hard-line" approach attributed to that organization.

"Right-to-lifers intimidate by association," said Marjory Mecklenberg, former chairman of the board of the National Right to Life Committee.

Mecklenberg, president of the new group, said American Citizens Concerned for Life (ACCL), is trying to change what it sees as the public perception of pro-lifers as "fuddy duddies in tennis shoes, or Roman Catholic priests in their collars saying, 'No, no.'"

"We're trying to broaden the base of the movement, which has been accused of being Catholic," she said.

Courts

Most states have enacted some abortion law since the *Roe* and *Doe* decisions. But state legislatures often have sought to interpret *Roe* and *Doe* as narrowly as possible. "Some really want to know what they can do to regulate the

performance of abortions. Some apparently want to be malevolent," said Judith Mears of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).

Ensuing litigation over the constitutionality of the state laws has highlighted several questions left unsettled by the Supreme Court. Among them:

- Does a physician have a responsibility to the fetus during an abortion or after it is performed? This question has grown out of the widely reported manslaughter conviction of Boston physician Kenneth C. Edelin in February. Edelin had performed a legal abortion consistent with the guidelines set up by the *Roe* and *Doe* decisions. He was convicted of manslaughter, however, when the jury found that Edelin had caused the death of a fetus that had been born alive, even though the object of the operation was to terminate its existence. The case indicated that "there may be a legal distinction between terminating a pregnancy and destroying a fetus," said the ACLU.

- Must parental or spousal consent be obtained before abortions can be performed on married or minor women? The courts have held that since the Supreme Court prohibited states from interfering in the abortion decision between a woman and her doctor, then states may not delegate that veto authority to a third party.

- Must Medicaid pay for elective abortions for eligible poor women? The courts have said that it must, basing their reasoning on the principle that it would be discriminatory to deny benefits to a woman who chose to terminate her pregnancy by abortion while granting those same benefits to a woman who chose to terminate her pregnancy by childbirth. The HEW Department in December 1974 proposed changes in regulations dealing with state reimbursement rates for abortion services. States had been required to pay for abortions at the family planning services' rate of 90 per cent of cost. The proposed regulations would lower the rate significantly. They are expected to become final soon following consideration of comment on the change.

- May hospitals receiving public funds refuse to perform abortions as a matter of conscience? The courts have said that public hospitals may not. Hospitals having conscience clauses in their rules may not prohibit willing physicians from performing abortions, recent court decisions have said. A thornier question is whether public hospitals which claim that none of their physicians are willing to perform abortions must act to provide such personnel and services. A federal appeals court ruled April 14 that they must. Even though private hospitals often receive substantial federal funds, the courts have said they are not liable to the same requirements as public hospitals. The case involved the City of St. Louis which has said that it will appeal to the Supreme Court.

- Can states dictate to physicians how abortions are to be performed? Decisions involving this question differ. A federal court in Kentucky has struck down performance requirements, saying the procedure is best left up to the doctor. However, another federal court, in Missouri, has upheld similar requirements. The Supreme Court has



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—Karen Mulhauser,
National Abortion Rights
Action League

"The other side tries to cast the issue in an anti-Catholic light, to make the Catholic Church the boogie man to the tune of millions of dollars."

—Robert N. Lynch,
National Committee for a
Human Life Amendment Inc.



ordered that the 1974 Missouri law not be enforced pending an appeal.

Outlook

Some legal experts predict that the Supreme Court will attempt to solve many of these unsettled issues in the Missouri case, *Planned Parenthood of Central Missouri, Inc. v. John D. Danforth*.

Planned Parenthood challenged in federal district court several sections of the Missouri abortion statute.

In addition to a consent requirement and a performance requirement, the federal district court upheld provisions of the Missouri law that: 1) required the recipient to certify that she gave uncoerced and informed consent to the abortion, 2) defined "viability" as the stage of development at which the fetus "may be continued indefinitely outside the womb by natural or artificial life-supportive systems," 3) cut off all parental rights to any fetus aborted alive and 4) prohibited a procedure widely used in second trimester abortions (a saline solution injection) on grounds that it was dangerous to the health of the mother.

Planned Parenthood claimed that the certification requirement was not required for any other medical operation and it therefore inhibited a woman's decision to have an abortion.

Planned Parenthood also objected to the use of the word "indefinitely" in the definition of "viability."

Cutting off parental rights to live-born aborted fetuses was designed to discourage abortion and would deny due process to parents, Planned Parenthood claimed.

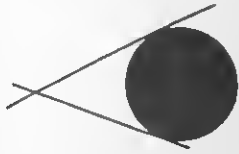
The organization also objected to the prohibition against the use of saline injections, on grounds that it was an unwarranted intrusion into a physician's medical judgments and prerogatives.

In February the Supreme Court barred enforcement of the law pending the outcome of Planned Parenthood's challenge.

If the Court finds the Missouri law unconstitutional, "the practical effect will not matter too much, except to indicate to state legislatures what they can and cannot do," said Frank Susman, counsel for the organization.

But if the Court finds the law constitutional, "there will be a much greater impact," he said, because it would negate a considerable body of case law that has built up supporting *Roe* and *Doe*.

Susman doubted that the Supreme Court would try to strike a balance. "There is no middle ground," he said. ■



THE RIGHT WING

BREWER AND FOUNDATION INCREASE ROLE IN RIGHT WING AND MEDIA

What once appeared to be separate stories about movements within the right wing are beginning to take on a pattern showing a Colorado brewer, Joseph Coors, and a group called Heritage Foundation taking on an increasing right-wing role in such diverse fields as textbook selection, foreign policy studies and development of a fourth or fifth television network in the U.S.

The evolution of the bland Heritage Foundation from a clearly right-wing entity, The Robert M. Schuchman Memorial Foundation, Inc. first established itself as a protest force against textbooks in Kanawha and now is spreading out nationally.

New developments add significantly to the emerging facts: The Heritage Foundation has started "The Communications Network." An article by investigative reporter, Stanhope Gould, in the March issue of *Columbia Journalism Review* exposes the long and expensive effort by Coors to

offset what he regards as liberal news networks.

CONGRESS GIVES HOOVER INSTITUTION \$7,000,000

In the waning hours of the last session, Congress quietly authorized up to \$7 million to the arch-conservative Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace as a memorial to the late President who started the center for his papers at Stanford in 1919. No record vote was taken, and only one member of either house objected. The funds are to be spent on a matching private grant basis over a period of five years for the purpose of an educational building. The building now housing the Institution is one of the finest on the campus, and the Institution is already well-heeled from conservative contributors. It is run by a board and staff which interlocks substantially with the reactionary American Enterprise Institute and is equally conservative.

PATRIOTS INTER-ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS CENTER

Patriots Inter-Organizational Communications Center is the name selected for the group arising from the radical rightists who met late last year under the auspices of Robert DePugh, the head Minuteman who had just been released from prison for a firearms violation.

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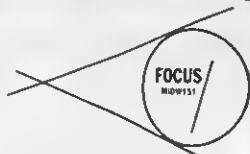
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have jeopardized future employment (except for four, all were hired by the United Fund); the agencies who worked with the Council are also beneficiaries of the United Fund and they could not jeopardize their agency's financial well-being; and the public at large didn't know and still doesn't know what is going on. The pleasant sounding releases by the United Way aren't exactly a fountainhead of background in-

formation. The press, finally, has a solid record of ignoring the whole issue.

One of those years, semi-independent social research will be resurrected in St. Louis. Meanwhile, St. Louisans will have to be satisfied with giving money annually and hope that someone will tell them not only the *what for* but also the *why* of the United Way spending policy.

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